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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

MORAVIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Nazareth, Pa.

VOLUME X.

PARTS I, II, III AND IV.

WHITEFIELD HOUSE,
NAZARETH, PA.
Printed for the Society,
1917.

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ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

Moravian Historical Society,

SEPTEMBER 25, 1913.

The business meeting was called to order at 10:15 a.m., with President Schwarze in the chair. Nineteen members were present.

The minutes of the 1912 meeting were read and approved. The Treasurer's report was accepted, ordered to be read at the afternoon session and an abstract spread upon the minutes.

Receipts	$ 556 10
Expenditures	645 19
Cash on Hand	23 96
Investments	5932 71
Trust Funds	5794 07

The Secretary reported five executive meetings, the cataloguing of the library, and the project of a new summer house, as the notable work of the year. He reported a membership of 349, consisting of 113 life members and 236 active and associate. The gains were 2 life and 15 active members; the losses were from the deaths of one life and two active members; nine were withdrawn or dropped, making a net gain of five.

The Library Committee reported progress in the work of arranging and classifying the books and outlined plans for the continuance of the work.

The Graveyard Committee reported that they had secured plans for the summer house and submitted sketches. On motion of the brethren E. J. Krause and C. D. Kreider, it was resolved to accept the plan for a one-story octagon building, at a cost of $425, or to put up a two-story building, according to the plan presented, if the money can be raised for the extra cost.

The Publication Committee reported that plans were already formed for the new publication.

The members elected at this meeting were as follows: Miss Rosalie T. Beckel, the Rev. and Mrs. R. Crittenden, John E. Leibfried, Mrs. Charles H. Rominger, Mrs. H. E. Stocker, the Rev. and Mrs. C. H. Wenhold, Jr., William H. Neisser, Miss Helen F. Beitel, Miss Emma B. Beitel, Mrs. Wm. H. Milchsack.

The question was raised whether it might not be well to have the vesper at one o'clock, instead of two, to serve as a luncheon. On motion, this was referred to the afternoon meeting for discussion.

On motion, the proposition to erect a monument at Nain, near Bethlehem, was referred to the Executive Committee with power to act.

By unanimous consent, the Secretary cast a ballot re-electing all the old officers. On motion, the usual salaries were voted to the Secretary-Treasurer and to the Librarian.

F. H. MARTIN, *Secretary.*

AFTERNOON SESSION AND VESPER, AT 2:15 P.M.

The meeting was opened with the singing of a hymn, followed by the usual vesper lunch. The list of deaths was read and the hymn, "They with patience having run," was sung.

The President addressed this, the 56th annual meeting, reviewing the origin of the Society, its proper aims, the work already accomplished and plans for the future.

Rev. Albert Oerter read a paper, "A Quiet Corner during the Revolution, 1775-1783," being a sketch of life at Graceham, Md., in that period. Hymn No. 6 having been sung, Rev. H. E. Stocker followed with a paper, entitled "The Moravian Mission among the Indians on the White River in Indiana."

On invitation of the President, Dr. Stonecipher, of the Northampton County Historical Society, addressed the meeting.

The question of changing the hour for the vesper was discussed. It was resolved that the Executive Committee take steps to learn, by some method, the wishes of the Society in regard to the most convenient hour. The President also explained the two plans for the summer house and the cost of erecting it.

After singing hymn No. 10, the meeting adjourned.

Deaths, 1913: F. C. Johnson, Charles H. Neisser; life member, A. de Groot.

F. H. MARTIN, *Secretary.*

ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

Moravian Historical Society,

SEPTEMBER 24, 1914.

The business meeting was called to order at 10:15 a.m. by President Schwarze. Sixteen members were present. The minutes of the 1913 meeting were approved as read. The Treasurer's report was accepted and an abstract ordered to be spread upon the minutes.

Receipts	$ 436 18
Expenditures	146 54
Cash on Hand	313 60
Investments	5938 59
Trust Funds	5891 22

The Secretary reported that the Executive Committee had held four stated meetings, considering mostly routine business. There were 113 life and 240 active and associate members, making a total of 353, a gain of four. Sixteen joined, all active and associate. One was transferred from the active to the life member list. One life and three active members died. Seven withdrew and one was dropped. The librarian presented a list of eighteen donations received.

The Graveyard Committee reported progress in the matter of erecting a summer house. The Publication Committee reported a great deal of matter in prospect, but none of it quite ready.

The following members were elected, all active: the Rev. Paul S. Meinert, the Rev. T. M. Rights, Mr. and Mrs. W. K. Shimer, and Mr. R. H. Wilhelm. The old officers were re-nominated. The Secretary being unable to accept the nomination, Bro. T. M. Rights was nominated in his stead. By unanimous consent, the Secretary cast a ballot electing all those nominated. On motion, the usual honorarium was ordered paid, $50.00 to the Secretary-Treasurer and $30.00 to the Librarian.

AFTERNOON MEETING.

The meeting opened with singing "What praise to Thee, my Saviour," followed by the usual vesper refreshments.

After reading the list of deaths, the hymn, "They with patience having run," was sung.

The President addressed the meeting, giving a brief sketch of the life and character of John Hus, in view of the coming celebration of the date of his martyrdom. The Rev. A. E. Oerter read a paper, entitled, "Closing of the Single Brethren's Economy at Christian Spring in 1796, with a poem written for that occasion by Bishop John Ettwein." The Rev. A. D. Thaeler spoke on "Bohemia and the Brethren in Bohemia," giving impressions of his visit there at the time of the General Synod of 1914.

The Secretary's and Treasurer's reports were read, together with the list of officers elected, after which the meeting closed with the singing of a hymn.

Deaths in 1914: Eugene A. Brunner, Mrs. R. Crittenden, Marcus Fetter, Jacob H. Holt, Charles Laramy; life member, Mrs. Abraham S. Schropp.

F. H. Martin, *Secretary.*

In Memoriam.

ALFRED DE GROOT

was born on Staten Island, September 21, 1827. He died March 31, 1913. He became a life member of the Society in 1880.

MRS. CAROLINE (GUETTER) SCHROPP

was born in Bethlehem, March 13, 1842. She died May 10, 1914. She became a life member of the Society in 1879.

CHARLES H. NEISSER

was born in Bethlehem, June 28, 1853. He died November 16, 1912. He joined the Society in 1869.

F. C. JOHNSON

was born in Wilkes-Barre, ————————. He died March 5, 1913. Joined the Society in 1896. He was a member and the president of the Wyoming Historical Society. He is known as the author of numerous articles and pamphlets on matters relating to the early settlement of Pennsylvania.

EUGENE A. BRUNNER

was born in Bethlehem, March 5, 1847. Died April 30, 1914. He joined the Society in 1908.

MRS. JANE (CHAMBERLAIN) CRITTENDEN

was born ————————. She died September 25, 1914. She joined the Society in 1913.

MARCUS FETTER

was born in Bethlehem, August 6, 1841. He died May 1, 1914. Joined the Society in 1869.

JACOB HOLT

was born in Easton, August 12, 1845. He died February 2, 1914. Joined the Society in 1896.

CHARLES LARAMY

was born August 24, 1839. He died ————————, 1914. Joined the Society in 1896.

SPECIMENS OF OLD MORAVIAN POETRY.

BY THE REV. A. L. OERTER, A.M.

I.

An Affectionate Farewell Poem on the Occasion of Closing the Boys' School at Nazareth and the Removal of the Boys to Bethlehem.

One of the peculiarly characteristic features of life in the first Moravian settlements in Pennsylvania, during the early period of their existence, was the disposition and endeavor to make that life, with all its hardships and privations, more easy and cheerful by all the limited means at command. Devoted and consecrated as they were to the high and holy purpose of letting their light shine, our spiritual ancestors were not of a morose and sternly forbidding character. They believed that it was their privilege to "rejoice in the Lord alway," and to praise and glorify Him by a gladsome acceptance of the conditions in which He had seen fit to place them. The daily religious services, assembling them in sweet Christian fellowship, the hearing of accounts from congregations near or remote, the frequent lovefeasts, some of which were of a partly social character, the investing of ordinary occupations with a sacred importance, the affctionate notice of birthdays and other anniversaries, the vocal and instrumental music of the sanctuary or of the concert, all tended to nourish and preserve among them a cheerful spirit, of which in their comparative isolation they had need, if they were not to become unduly depressed and discouraged.

Hence, also, the custom of writing verses or poems (Lieder) for various occasions, such as birthdays or church-festivals, for the laying of corner-stones or the dedication of meeting-halls and choir-houses, even for farming operations, which for some time was of frequent occurrence. The style of the poetry corresponded to the nature of each occasion, varying from the more formal to the familiar; but all of these compositions illustrate and bear the stamp of the prevalent conception of the Church as a family, a community of brethren and sisters, those belonging to the same congregation, and some others, being personally acquainted with one another.

The example set by Count Zinzendorf, whose poetical genius expressed itself not only in hymns for religious worship, but also in numerous other versified productions, was followed by his brethren who, like himself, wrote not only from an aesthetic, but also from a practical standpoint. Our German forefathers could not do otherwise than retain the characteristics of their race in America also, and among these was a love for music and poetry, and therefore naturally, as is well known, a cultivation of these liberal arts, which contributed not a little to the preservation among them of the best type of European culture, amid surroundings of a different character. This is so well known that we need only refer to it in connection with the poems presented in this paper. They, together with others, have been preserved in some of the early diaries of the Nazareth congregation, and are of interest on account of the events that gave occasion for the composition of them, and on account of the personality of their authors. The writers were very able, useful and prominent brethren in the service of our Church during the latter part of the eighteenth century, and although distinguished for their abilities, and rendering important services to the Church, they still occasionally found time to write verses for the edification or encouragement of their brethren and sisters.

The first poem here presented was written by the Rev. Francis Christian Lembke, the learned author of the Latin document deposited in the corner-stone of Nazareth Hall, in which there were also deposited a number of Odes written for that occasion, notably one by Bishop Matthew Hehl, in which the names of all Moravian congregations, missions and preaching-places in America are mentioned.

Francis Christian Lembke was born July 13, 1704, in Blansingen, a town in the margraviate of Baden-Durlach, where his father, Carl Lembke, was an Evangelical Lutheran minister, later in Durlach, the capital, where he died in 1710. Bro. Lembke's mother was of Jewish parentage, but as a child of eight years, by her own urgent desire, was baptized as a Christian with the name Maria Christina Fried Albin. After attending the Gymnasium at Durlach, at eleven years of age Bro. Lembke's mother took him to Strasburg, where, after attending preparatory schools, he entered the University, in 1721, and in 1725 took

his degree as Magister Philosophiae. Later he pursued his studies at the Universities of Jena, Erfurt and Leipsic. Recalled to Strasburg by the University, he was appointed Praeceptor Latinus at the Gymnasium, and preached in the large St. Peter's Church to crowded audiences, becoming the most popular preacher in the city. At Jena he had become acquainted with pious students and the Moravian brethren, which, together with persecution from jealous opponents, led to his finally leaving Strasburg and his reception into the Brethren's Church, in 1746. In 1749 he was ordained a Deacon in the Fetter Lane Chapel in London, Eng., in 1754 received a call as "Prediger" (preacher) of the congregation at Nazareth, Pa., and came to America with Bishop Spangenberg.

For almost thirty years he was the "Gemeinhelfer" and "Prediger" (Pastor and Preacher) of the congregation at Nazareth, offices not generally filled by the same brother in those days, and for sixteen years at the same time (1763-1779) he was Inspector or Principal of the School for Moravian boys, opened in Nazareth Hall in 1759, and was therefore still Principal when he wrote the verses which he entitled "Ein herzliches Abschieds-Lied," (An affectionate Farewell-Poem), when that Boys' School was closed and the housekeeping establishment was discontinued.

Through the establishment of day-schools in some congregations, the pressure of hard times during the War of the Revolution and other circumstances, the school had decreased from more than one hundred scholars to six, as Bro. Lembke states in his poem, which must be the correct number, although it is elsewhere given as eleven (Bishop Levering also states that they were six in number), and it was thought best that these boys and their teachers should be transferred to Bethlehem. The Memorabilia for 1778 state that at the close of that year the entire household in Nazareth Hall consisted of 8 little boys, 3 older boys, 6 single brethren and 2 married couples, therefore 21 persons. There was therefore a further decrease before the school was closed in October, 1779. The following account of the closing of the school and domestic establishment is given in the Diary of the congregation:

"Thursday, Oct. 21, 1779. At 7 a.m. our scholars in the Hall, with their teachers and the other brethren and sisters living in the house, together with the Elders' Conference, held a nice lovefeast, not, however, without sorrowful emotions. Bro. Lembke related how many boys had entered the school twenty and more years ago, and how the number had been reduced to six, who were to leave us today and go to Bethlehem. He read the text for the day and some farewell verses which he had composed. Thereupon there was a meeting of the Elders' Conference, at which the children were present, and were dismissed with an affectionate kiss, not without tearful eyes. At 8.30 a.m. they drove off, accompanied by two brethren, and with our united blessing."

"Mond., Oct. 25. Bro. and Sr. Lembke made a visit to Bethlehem. With them went Bro. Dominic Krause, who for many years was the gardener for Nazareth Hall, and is to be gardener for the Single Brethren's house at Bethlehem."

"Thursd., Oct. 28. Before the evening service the Brn. Nathaniel (Seidel), de Schweinitz (the Rev. John Chr. Alexander) and Paul Muenster came from Bethlehem, the first two to settle up the affairs of the school that has been closed, and to hand over to Bro. Dettmers (the Warden) whatever belongs to the Administration, which was done the next day. The brother who has been house-washer, serving the school faithfully for many years, went to Christian's Spring, to fill the same position there."

"Mond., Nov. 1. The housekeeping establishment in Nazareth Hall was finally closed, and therefore the kitchen servants, Bro. and Sr. John Schmidt and their daughter, who has been assisting her parents for a few weeks, but will soon return to Bethlehem, went to the little place assigned them at Christian's Spring, after taking an affectionate leave of us. The boy Nathaniel Rasmus (or Rasmussen), who has been helping to care for the stock, also went to Christian's Spring."

The interest taken in the boys who were attending the school in Nazareth Hall by Bro. Lembke and his brethren in office is shown by frequent reference to them in the Diary. This was quite natural, as the boys were all children of Moravian parents, and were therefore regarded as a part of the congregation in which they were sojourning.

It was therefore also natural that Bro. Lembke, the Principal, should express his fatherly regard for them in the following verses, which, as well as the whole character of the closing exercises, manifest a tender and affectionate desire to make the change in their life as easy as possible for the children. While not making any pretense to a lofty poetical style, the verses are an example of that familiar tone which was so much more charmingly appropriate.

EIN HERZLICHES ABSCHIEDS-LIED

ALS DIE KLEINE ANSTALT VON 6 KINDERN MIT EINIGEN BRUEDERN D. 21STEN OCT., 1779, NACH BETHLEHEM ZOG.

1. Ihr Kinder! es ist nun an dem
Ihr zieht von uns nach Bethlehem.
Der Zeit Umstaend' erfordern's so
geht dann dahin dankbar und froh.

2. Dankbar fuer alles was aus Gnad'
der gute Heiland an euch that
an Leib und Seel', an dieser Staatt
hier in der Hall bei Nazareth.

3. Das moeglichst haben wir gethan
nach unserem Haus-Vater Plan;
die Brueder hab'n euch informirt
auch moeglichst die Aufsicht gefuehrt.

4. Die Dankbarkeit erfordert es
dass keins so leichte das vergess'
was jedem Gutes widerfahr'n
in wenig oder vielen Jahr'n.

5. Es ist zwar eine kleine Zahl
der Kinder, die heut' aus der Hall
und von dem hiesgen Kirch-Gebiet
auf's Herrn Geheisz nun von uns zieht.

6. Zwei Brueder und sechs Knaebelein
zieh'n heute aus und dorten ein.
wiszt ihr wie viel vor vielen Jahr'n
der Anstalts-Knaebgen einst hier war'n?

7. Ein zwanzig Jahr und d'rueber aus
kam diese Anstalt hier ins Haus;
hundert und zehen, gross und klein
die nahmen hier acht Stuben ein.

8. Im mittler'n Stocke wol nur zwei,
im ober'n sechse, und dabei
waren der Brueder zum Aufseh'n
und zu dem Unterricht sechzehn.

9. Und mit dem Pfleger und Vorsteh'r,
und dem was sich zum Dienst gab her
bei diesem lieben Anstalts-Haus,
so macht es ueber zwanzig aus.

10. Vier Jahr' darauf war just die Summ'
Von 130 und darum (mit den Kindern)
da wir mit unserm juengsten Kind
von Nazareth eingezogen sind.

11. Geschwister Schmidt's, die Kuechen-Leut',
so wie sie's noch sind bis anheut',
kamen zugleich mit uns herein
zum Dienst der Brueder und Knaebelein.

12. Seh't so war fuer euch je und je,
mit vieler Treue, Sorg' und Mueh',
die liebe Vormundschaft bedacht,
und hat's euch hier bequem gemacht.

13. Zieh't also, lieben Kinder, heut'
mit vieler Herzens-Dankbarkeit
von hinnen und seyd herzlich froh
man sorgt fuer euch dort eben so.

14. Die Gnad' und Friede Jesu Christ,
der mit euch hier gewesen ist,
sei auf dem Weg und dort zugleich
wie seine liebe Naeh' mit euch.

15. Wir nehmen nun von euch Abschied,
Ihr ziehet auch mit unserm Fried',
mit unserm besten Segen fort
gruess't uns're lieben Brueder dort.

16. Hab't den getreu'sten Kinder Freund
der es so herzlich mit euch mein't,
und den die Lieb' ans Kreuze trieb,
hab't Ihn, ach hab't Ihn zaertlich lieb.

17. Beim lernen oder sonst was thun
lass't euch das stets im Herzen ruh'n,
dasz Er sich in den Tod hingab,
und euch treu liebte bis in's Grab.

18. Die Brueder die dem Haus gedient
lasz unser Herr der uns versuehnt
und Der nichts unvergolten laess't
gesegnet seyn auf's allerbest'.

Die Gnade des Herrn Jesu Christ,
die Liebe des der Vater ist,
des Heil'gen Geist's Gemeinschaft sey
uns alle Tage fuehlbar neu.

(Nach Br. Lembke's Manuscript im Diario der Gemeine zu Nazareth copiert.)

AN AFFECTIONATE FAREWELL POEM

On the removal of the little school of six boys in Nazareth Hall, with two teachers, to Bethlehem, Oct. 21, 1779.

1. Dear children, now the day has come
That bids you leave your present home,
And go from us to Bethlehem;
Go then in glad and thankful frame.

2. Thankful for all our Saviour dear
Has done for you while dwelling here;
Your souls and bodies He has blest
In Nazareth Hall, must be confessed.

3. Here in our house and family
We all have labored willingly
To do all that was best to do
To educate and care for you.

4. Now gratitude demands that none
Should e'er forget what here was done
That each for few or many a year
The benefit might freely share.

5. It is, indeed, a number small
Of children who from Nazareth Hall
And from this congregation now
Directed by the Lord, must go.

6. Two brethren and six little boys
Move hence to Bethlehem and its joys;
Know ye how many scholars were
Some years ago instructed here?

7. Full twenty years and more ago
This house a larger school could show;
Hundred and ten the number was,
And they had eight rooms in this house.

8. 'Tis true that on the second floor
There were but two, but then six more
Upon the third. Brethren sixteen
For teaching and o'ersight were seen.

9. The pastor, warden, servants, too,
Who faithful diligence did show
As guardians of this Institute,
Twenty the number was to boot.

10. Four years thereafter, when we moved
From Nazareth to this house approved,
With our young child, the grand sum total
One hundred thirty was, to note all.

11. With us there entered Bro. Schmidt's,
Who still give us such wholesome bits
In the kitchen with great care prepared,
Which young and old have gladly shared.

12. Thus you can see and understand
What faithful care on every hand,
What labor for your comfort here
Was spent by all your guardians dear.

13. Go then, dear children, on your way
With glad and thankful hearts today;
For the same love and service kind
In Bethlehem you'll also find.

14. The grace of Jesus Christ, His peace,
That always here your days did bless,
Be with you on the way, and still
With joy your hearts in Bethlehem fill.

15. We're parting with you now; receive
Our love and blessing as you leave.
Peace be with you. Our brethren greet
For us, whom you in Bethlehem meet.

16. Love dearly the best Children's Friend
Whose loving kindness knows no end,
Who on the cross for us did die,
Oh love Him always fervently.

17. When learning lessons, or whate'er
You do, in glad remembrance bear
In love for you Himself he gave
To cruel cross, to death and grave.

18. And may the blessing of our Lord,
Who faithful service doth reward,
Rest richly on the brethren all
Who've served Him here in Nazareth Hall.

The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ,
The love of God, so highly prized
The Holy Ghost's communion be
With all of us most sensibly.

—Translated by A. L. Oerter.

II.

The Closing of the Single Brethren's Economy at Christian's Spring, with some Verses Composed for that Occasion by Bishop John Ettwein.

The second poem presented in this paper was composed by Bishop John Ettwein, who was the most prominent and eminently useful man in our Church in America for many years before, during and after the troublous and perilous times of the Revolutionary War. In his memoir of this distinguished man Bishop Edmund de Schweinitz says: "Ettwein had been foreordained to the service of the Church in America. He was, moreover, eminently fitted for it, in various respects. It called forth his energy, showed his strength of mind, and brought into play his determined zeal far more fully than any work for God in which he had been engaged while in Europe. There was something in his mode of thought that found in the new world just what it longed for. He felt at home as soon as he had landed on our shores, and began life anew. Speaking of his arrival at Bethlehem, he remarks, 'From that day I became a thorough Bethlehemite and a thorough American.'" And such he was. He made twelve voyages on the ocean; traveled all over the United States of those days, from Maine to Georgia, sometimes alone, sometimes with his devoted wife, preaching in every State except Delaware and Kentucky, from pulpits, in the open air, in court-houses, barns and other structures, always fearlessly proclaiming the gospel. Within six months, under all the disadvantages of those times, he traveled more than 2000 miles. He labored also as a missionary among many Indian tribes, and in 1771 led the Christian Indians from the Susquehanna to Ohio, and later obtained for them from Congress a grant of 12,000 acres in the Tuscarawas Valley. Five times he traveled the long way back and forth from Bethlehem to Wachovia, N. C. Twenty times he was in danger of losing his life. In his many years of activity he corresponded with distinguished and leading men in civil affairs, had interviews with Washington, LaFayette, Pulaski,

Hancock, Samuel Adams and many others, impressing all with the simplicity of his character, and the sturdy manliness of his whole bearing. He negotiated successfully with Congress and with the Assembly of Pennsylvania on behalf of his brethren, the Speaker of the latter body honoring him with a seat by his side, and with permission to address the house, of which occasion he quaintly remarks, "It seemed to me as if I were officiating at a public service in one of our Moravian congregations."

Constantly employed in affairs of great importance to the Church, it might be supposed that he would have little time or inclination to write verses for his brethren. And yet he undoubtedly wrote others before this one for the lovefeast at Christian's Spring in 1796, when, indeed, the time of his greatest activity was over, but when he was still attending to the duties of his episcopal office, which took him at that time to Christian's Spring, where a great change was to be made by the closing of the Single Brethren's Economy; and there, in a lovefeast solemnly consummating this event, on Friday, April 1, 1796, he read the verses which he had composed for the occasion.

Christian's Spring was the third one of the settlements made on the so-called Barony of Nazareth, preceded by Old Nazareth in 1744 and Gnadenthal in 1745. These two were settled by married couples, but Christian's Spring was a settlement for unmarried brethren. A small combined grist-mill and saw-mill was built about half a mile south of Gnadenthal, in 1747, and a schoolhouse was erected in 1748. A large colony of unmarried brethren having arrived at Bethlehem from June 25 to July 2, 1748, thirty of them located at Christian's Spring on July 13, among them, probably, John Andrew Albrecht; from whom, as he seems to have been a leading man (in 1756 principal teacher and musician in the school at Bethlehem, 1759 when that school was transferred to Nazareth Hall, heading the orchestra of boys that led the procession, and 1766-'71 landlord of the Sun Inn) we may suppose that the place obtained its first name, Albrecht's Brunn, *i.e.*, Albrecht's Spring. This name was officially changed Aug. 4, 1749, to Christiansbrunn, *i.e.*, Christian's Spring (now Christianspring) in honor of Count Zinzendorf's son, Christian Renatus, who had assisted John de Watteville in organizing the first Single Brethren's Choir at Herrnhut, and who, until his

early demise, in London, England, May 28, 1751, took a deep and lively interest in the Single Brethren.

On Dec. 17, 1749, after partaking of a lovefeast in the Single Brethren's house at Bethlehem, twenty-two of their number, accompanied by the Rev. Nathaniel Seidel, proceeded to Christian's Spring, where they were received by John Nitschmann's and Samuel Krause's, two married couples, and were regularly organized. Choir-houses having been built, not only single brethren, but youths and boys had theirs also, with a Superintendent over each division. The men were employed either as mechanics or as agriculturists on the large farm, and the boys were taught farming and trades, and some of them copied diaries, the proceedings of Conferences, etc., and ample provision was made for the continuance of their education. But all labor, physical and mental, at Christian's Spring, as at the other settlements, was to be hallowed unto the Lord, and permeated with the spirit of religious fervor and consecration. Three times daily, as a rule, they met in their prayer-hall for a brief devotional exercise, while for lovefeasts and the Lord's Supper, as also for the Sunday services, they joined the congregation that worshipped in Nazareth Hall, then known as the *Gemein-Saal.*

The settlement flourished, as may be seen from the statistics given by Bro. James Henry in his very interesting monograph on Christian's Spring, published in the "Transactions" of this Society. Without enumerating details it may be mentioned that the farm comprised 596 acres, 353 of which were under cultivation, the rest being woodland and meadow.

The following brief extract is quoted from a communication signed "Antiquus" to *The Moravian* of Oct. 30, 1862. The writer was probably Bro. James Henry, who was a teacher in Nazareth Hall, 1829-'31.

"On our first visit, thirty-five or forty years ago, Christianspring presented much more of a contrast to an ordinary American village than it does now, albeit it yet retains some quaint features unlike anything outside of German Moravian settlements, the offspring of the same system. It looked then like a genuine German 'Bauern Hof' on an extensive scale; or it might have been taken to be a 'Ritter Gut,' the property of some petty feudal master, who strove to have upon his own domain every-

thing that could render him and his vassals independent of the world around. The hamlet had its mills and stores and workshops all complete, whilst nevertheless the main employment of its inhabitants was agriculture, as evidenced by the capacious barns erected to store away the grain, and stabling for numerous herds of cattle. Prominent above the other buildings rose a more stately edifice with broken roof, which might readily have passed for the baronial mansion. The houses, shops and stables faced upon a large open square through which the public highway ran. The red-tiled roofs, the solid stone masonry of most of the buildings, and the peculiar structure of others denoted at once the foreign origin of its founders. It was really depressing to our antiquarian spirits to observe what a change thirty or forty years have wrought. No vestige of the mills is to be seen any more. The characteristic stone barn with red roof, that used to form the western line of the square, has crumbled into dust, and is supplanted by a tasteless modern structure. The picturesque smithy that two years ago still graced the entrance to the village near the arched bridge, has been demolished, and, sad to say, in its place a modern hotel rears its unsightly head. Yet there are some relics of the old place still remaining, and in a tolerable state of preservation. Chief of these is the old manse, once devoted to ecclesiastical purposes, and containing under one roof a 'prayer-hall,' a suite of rooms for numerous division of single brethren that were wont to congregate here from Bethlehem, Nazareth, etc., and probably apartments also for the married ministers. * * * We were kindly escorted up a narrow oaken stairway, to the third story, where we were ushered into a vaulted room of moderate dimensions, the veritable hall in which the former congregation met to worship God. These once hallowed precincts are now desecrated to the most sublunary uses; the walls are gray and discolored by the rain; the fallen plastering in frequent spots discloses the brown timbers and sun-dried bricks beneath; and every sign of decay and dissolution is there. No sacred desk or other holy emblems of religion invite to spiritual contemplation; the place once consecrated to the service of Almighty God is converted to the purposes of a common loft. Yet a solemn feeling of reverence and awe crept over us, and we were fain to cry out, 'Surely the Lord is in this place!' "

CHRISTIANSPRING. (From a pen-sketch by Rufus A. Greider.)

In its palmy days Christian's Spring was doubtless an attractive and well-kept establishment in a beautiful and fertile location. In 1753, only a few years after it was commenced, the improvements on the plantation were valued at £1,483, 10 sh. sterling, about $7000, and they will have increased in value, for the settlement continued to flourish after the abrogation of the General Economy, in 1782, when the Single Brethren at Christian's Spring obtained their separate Economy or business management.

But one effect of the turbulent times of the Revolutionary War and of the general spirit of the succeeding years was a tendency, especially among the younger members of the Church, to be restive under the constant supervision exercised by the paternal system of church government that was still maintained. In his *History of Bethlehem* Bishop Levering has portrayed the spirit of the times, and the effect of the increased contact with the world at large, in which there was an increasing unrest everywhere, so that even in our exclusive settlements "aversion to be controlled became contagious." "The spirit of the brewing French Revolution was already in the atmosphere of the times," and this is shown to be the case by an entry in the Nazareth diary, mentioning the receipt of a letter from Bro. Gregor of the Unity's Elders' Conference at Herrnhut, in which he refers to the increasing unbelief and disregard of God's Word in the world at large, and advises prayer for the preservation of the faith by the Brethren's Church. Another entry says that in the "speaking" (the separate pastoral interviews) with the married people prior to the celebration of their festival in 1795, "reference was made in a thorough and confidential manner to the worldly mind that was getting the upper hand, and the increasing forgetfulness of our chief calling as members of the Brethren's Unity, especially in our congregation-settlements, and there was an almost general expression of sorrow for this, and a desire for a visitation of grace." And again we read that in a conversation with all heads of households and master-mechanics in May of the same year, reference was made to the neglect of our rules and regulations, and all were exhorted from love to the Saviour and His congregation, and for their own and their children's sakes, "to unite with their pastors in promoting the observance of our

regulations, and thus set a good example to our young people." In that same year the institution known as the "Hourly Intercession," which had been inaugurated at Herrnhut already in 1727, was introduced at Nazareth, "as so many circumstances in our congregation for some time incite us to prayer."

While the untoward circumstances above mentioned were in part the cause of the decline of the Single Brethren's establishment at Christian's Spring, there were other contributing causes of a special or of a general character. The closing of the Economy, and the substitution of married couples for the unmarried brethren was necessitated, it appears, by the fact that in general it no longer answered the purpose with which it had been inaugurated forty-seven years (almost a semi-century) earlier, on Dec. 17, 1749. It seems to have been difficult, or impossible, to supply a sufficient number of single brethren to carry on the work of the settlement. At one time there had been upwards of eighty living there, but in 1785 their number had decreased to sixty, and in 1796, when the establishment was closed, the number was still smaller. Some of the single brethren may have lost their interest in the establishment, and some may have preferred to set up their own housekeeping as married brethren. The spirit of ardent devotion to the aims and purposes of the Church that had enabled their predecessors in its heroic age to deny self and forego personal advancement for the benefit of the whole, the genuine altruistic spirit that could merge individuality in the attainment of a truly noble ideal, was no longer in the ascendant. That ideal was more or less obscured by the practical considerations that had gradually obtruded themselves upon a younger generation. They had learned more of the world at large and its methods of thought and action, and were more or less infected by the spirit of the times. Together with an increasing disregard of the Church's rules and regulations at that time, based as they were upon the highest conception of a life "hid with Christ in God,"—however unnatural and unnecessary some of them may appear since they have become obsolete—there crept in a lower moral and spiritual tone that was painfully manifest and sincerely deplored, as was gently expressed by Bishop Ettwein in the verses which he read at the closing lovefeast.

And so, notwithstanding that there were good and faithful

brethren among those at Christian's Spring, the settlement, as such, became at last, as we read in the *History of Bethlehem*, "hopelessly decadent," and what measures to adopt in the face of this distressing state of affairs was a problem not easy of solution. It was evident that a change of some sort was imperatively necessary if the settlement was to be kept up. Strange to say, already in 1793, as the Minutes of the Elders' Conference at Nazareth inform us, the Unity's Elders' Conference had expressed the opinion that Christian's Spring should be sold, as the difficulties there were constantly increasing. But the Nazareth Conference did not favor this extreme measure, agreeing with the brethren of Christian's Spring and Gnadenthal that it might be very injurious for the Unity, and especially for Nazareth, if Christian's Spring should pass out of our control. So the matter rested for two years, and then, in the Minutes for Oct. 22, 1795, we read: "From Bro. Gregor's letter to the General Helpers' Conference we learned that the Unity's Elders' Conference had carefully considered the proposition concerning Christian's Spring, and had submitted it to the Lord in the Lot. The answer received was, 'The Saviour does not approve of the sale of Christian's Spring.' The General Helpers' Conference will now take into consideration the manner and kind of changes that must be made at Christian's Spring, and will send the plan to the U. E. C. Bro. Ettwein desired brethren who might have good ideas and proposals referring to this change to make them known to the General Helpers' Conference."

The Nazareth Diary for the next day, Oct. 23, 1795, states that "Bro. Ettwein held a meeting of the congregation at Christian's Spring, in which he announced the direction of our Lord that Christian's Spring should not be sold. This direction was received by all of us with the greatest pleasure and the earnest wish that the Saviour would grant grace for a more suitable arrangement and better use of this beautiful place."

"Nov. 5. In the last meeting of the General Helpers' Conference the change at Christian's Spring was considered, and it was decided by the Lot that, notwithstanding the wish of the U. E. C. to see the plan first, arrangements must now be made for the contemplated change. Dec. 2. The G. H. C. held a meeting to which the Brn. Ettwein, Klingsohr, de Schweinitz and

Van Vleck had come from Bethlehem, and with the Brn. Golkowsky, Miksch and Schnall considered in detail the future arrangement and care of Christian's Spring in consequence of the direction from the U. E. C. that Christian's Spring should not be sold. In this Conference it was resolved, with the approbation of the Lord, to discontinue gradually the hitherto existing Single Brethren's Economy at Christian's Spring, as, for want of single brethren, it had been very difficult and imperfect for many years."

"Feb. 19, 1796. The change at Christian's Spring was considered in the last meeting of the G. H. C., and Bro. Paul Miksch, hitherto Superintendent of the Single Brethren there, was appointed Chaplain and Warden. He, together with the two brethren Petersen and Matthew Schultz will cultivate one-half of the Christian's Spring farm for the Unity's Administration. These three brethren will be married. The other half of the farm the brethren Jacob Luch and Johannes Kaske will take in rent, each one-fourth. They will pay annually one-half of the winter grain and one-third of the summer grain, and for each acre of meadow and orchard 20 sh. Bro. and Sr. Brunner will move to Gnadenthal. Bro. and Sr. Muecke will be offered a piece of the Gnadenthal land, on which they can build a house, etc. Bro. Vognitz will manage the beer brewery, and Bro. Proske, the mill, for the Administration, and will receive a yearly salary. Bro. Beck will carry on the brewery and Bro. Kaske the shoemaking, on their own account, paying the proper rent. Bro. Loether will move to the Brethren's house at Nazareth. Bro. Golkowsky, hitherto Warden at Christian's Spring, will continue to discharge the duties of that office for the present. The other brethren and sisters will for the present remain at Christian's Spring, except Bro. Herman, who has asked for a place in the Brethren's house at Bethlehem."

"Feb. 25. In the G. H. C. at Bethlehem the marriage of the single sister Catharine Busch to Bro. Paul Miksch, of the single sister Rachel Frevel to Bro. Matth. Schultz, of the single sister Leah Heil, of Bethlehem, to Bro. Petersen, of the single sister Agnes Pens, of Lititz, to Bro. Jacob Luch, and of the single sister Maria Elis. Schmidt to Bro. Johannes Kaske, was approved of. When these marriages will take place cannot yet be determined. Bro. Luch will be advised to go to Lititz as soon

as possible, to learn whether his marriage to the single sister proposed for him can be effected. Mar. 31. Tomorrow, at 2 p.m., at a lovefeast in Christian's Spring, the Single Brethren's Economy there will be closed."

The following account of the lovefeast is given in the Nazareth diary:

"Apr. 1, 1796. The Brethren of the G. H. C. came to Nazareth, and at 2 p.m. there was a lovefeast at Christian's Spring, in connection with the closing of the Single Brethren's establishment there, and the beginning of the new arrangement with married brethren and sisters. Besides all of those living at Christian's Spring, the Brn. of the G. H. C., the Elders' Conference and the Wardens' College of Nazareth and some other guests were present. Bro. Ettwein, who presided, expressed his thoughts and feelings concerning the change in some verses that were read, as was also an account of the beginning of the Single Brethren's establishment at that place on Dec. 17, 1749, with twenty-two single brethren, whose names and also the names of all the house chaplains and wardens during the past forty-seven years, were also read. Of the twelve house-chaplains who had held office successfully five brethren, all of whom had been married later, were present at the lovefeast, viz., David Zeisberger (Pastor at Naz., a cousin of the famous missionary), Jacob Van Vleck, Andrew Busse, Paul Miksch and Johannes Schnall; and of the four wardens, Johannes Bonn, who served as warden for thirty years, and George Golkowsky. Various occurrences of the former days and of the once happy course of affairs were related, and with gratitude the blessing of God on temporal affairs and preservation from misfortune was acknowledged. Among the rest it was remarked that the settlement had been first named Gnadenhoeh* (*sic*) but in memory of the sainted

* The Nazareth diarist for 1796 is the only authority we have seen for the statement that Christian's Spring was first named Gnadenhoeh, except that the late Bro. James Henry, in his paper on Christian's Spring published in the Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society for 1868, in quoting the above account from the Nazareth diary, allows the statement to stand without comment. In his *History of Bethlehem* Bishop Levering states that the central village of the Manor, on the slope near where Nazareth Hall was built, was to be named Gnadenhoeh, and that the original name of Christian's Spring was Albrecht's Brunn, as also stated by Bishop Levin T. Reichel in his *Early History of the United Brethren or Moravians in America*. The Nazareth diarist for 1796 was either the Pastor (Ge-

young Count Christian Renatus von Zinzendorf, and on account of the fine spring at the place, had been renamed Christian's Spring. In conclusion Bro. Ettwein installed Bro. Paul Miksch, whose marriage with the single sister Catharine Busch had taken place Mar. 6, as the future house-chaplain and warden. Of the other single brethren and boys, some entered the Brethren's houses at Bethlehem, Nazareth and Lititz, and twelve, who remained temporarily at Christian's Spring, were notified that they would thereafter be connected with the Single Brethren's choir at Nazareth.

Br. J. Ettwein's Lied zum Liebesmahle in Christiansbrunn beim Beschlusz der led. Brüder Haushaltung daselbst, d. isten April, 1796.

Haus Gottes! an der Christians-Spring
Freu' dich im Herren heut' und bring
Ihm Anbetung und Preis und Ehre,
vergiss vor Ihm nun alles schwere,
Sein gnadenvolles Angesicht
sey und verbleib auf dich gericht't.

Ei denket voll von Dank daran
Was Er an Christiansbrunn gethan
in denen sieben und vierzig Jahren;
man hat's gesehen und erfahren
wie Er auf unsrer Brüder thun
Liess immer seinen Segen ruh'n.

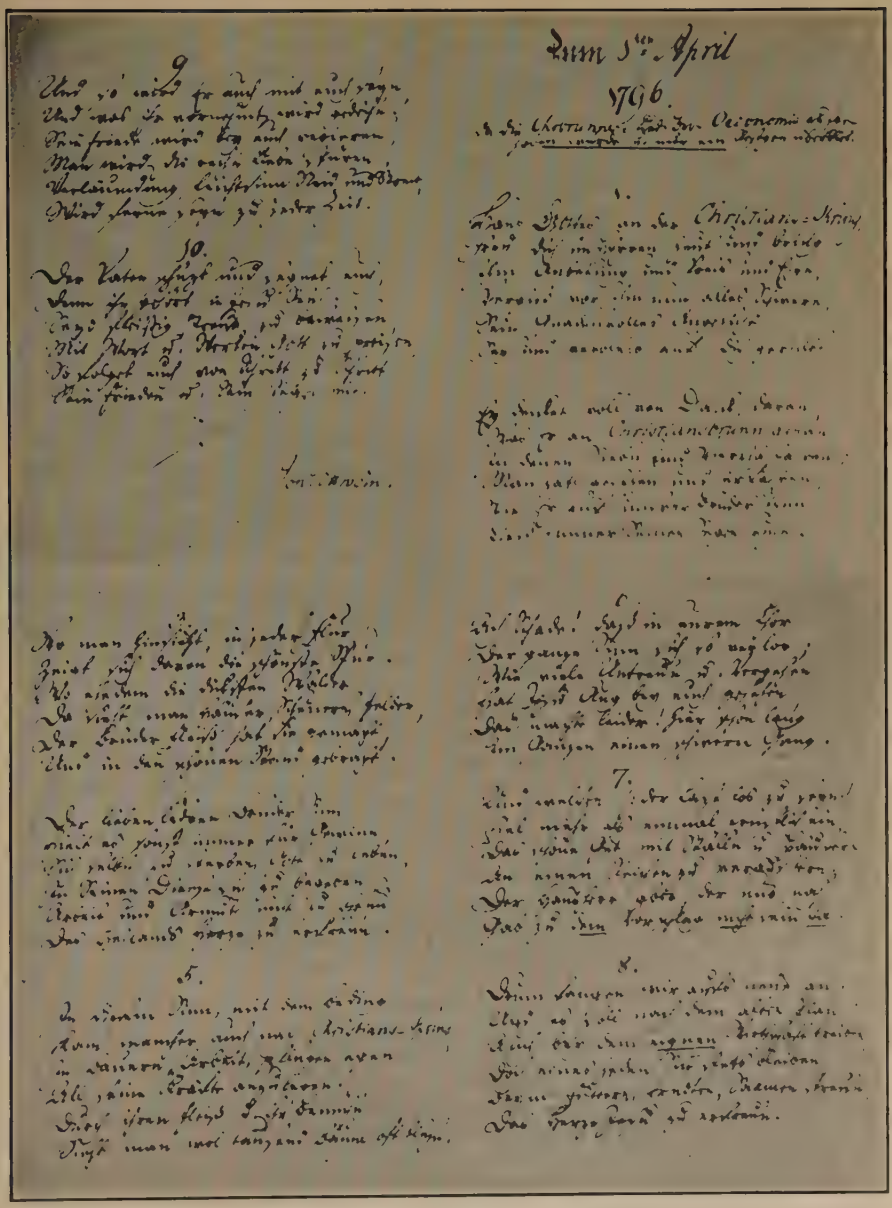
Wo man hinsieh't, in jedem Flur,
zeigt sich daran die schönste Spur!
wo ehedem die dicksten Wälder
da sieht man Häuser, Scheuern, Felder!
der Brüder Fleiss hat sie gemacht
und in den schönen Stand gebracht.

Der lieben led'gen Brüder Sinn
hielt es sonst immer für Gewinn
sich selbst zu sterben, Gott zu leben,
in Seinen Dienst sich zu begeben
Arbeit und Armuth nicht zu scheu'n
des Heiland's Herze zu erfreu'n.

---

meinhelfer), Bro. Zeisberger (who held that office from 1780 until his death in 1798), or Bro. Charles Gotthold Reichel, the preacher (Prediger), both of whom, it might be supposed, would know the real state of the case. But there may have been a lapse of memory, or of the pen.

As Christian's Spring was thus named almost two years before Count Zinzendorf's son died, it was done more in his honor than in memory of him, although the latter soon became the case.



Obverse and Reverse of the Original Ms. of Bishop John Ettwein's Ode.

In diesem Sinn, mit dem Beding
kam mancher auch nach Christian's Spring,
in Bauern Arbeit, pflügen, egen,
all seine Kräfte anzulegen;
durch ihren Fleiss und ihr Bemüh'n
sieht man oft tausend Bäume blüh'n.

Ach Schade, dass in eurem Chor
der ganze Sinn sich so verlor!
wie viel Untreuen und Vergehen
hat Jesu Aug bei euch gesehen!
das machte, leider! hier schon lang
im Ganzen einen schweren Gang.

Und welchen, der Last los zu sein,
fiel mehr als einmal ernstlich ein,
das schöne Gut, mit Stall und Häusern
an einen Reichen zu veräussern
der Hausherr aber, der uns nah'
gab zu dem Vorschlag *nicht* sein *Ja*.

D'rum fangen wir auf's neue an
und es soll nach dem alten Plan,
auch bei dem eignen Wirthschaft treiben
doch eines jeden Sinn stets bleiben
beim füttern, erndten, Saamen streu'n
das Herze Jesu zu erfreu'n.

Und so wird Er auch mit euch seyn,
und was ihr vornimmt wird gedeih'n.
Sein Friede wird bei euch regieren,
man wird die erste Liebe spüren.
Verläumdung, Leichtsinn, Neid und Streit
wird ferne seyn zu jeder Zeit.

Der Vater schütz't und segnet euch
denn ihr gehör't in Jesu Reich.
seid fleiszig Treue zu beweisen,
mit Wort und Werken Gott zu preisen,
so folget euch von Schritt zu Schritt
Sein Frieden und Sein Segen mit.

—John Ettwein.

Nach dem von Bischoff Johann Ettwein mit eigner Hand geschriebenen Liede im Archiv der Brüder Gemeine zu Nazareth befindlich copiert.

Albert L. Oerter.

d. 25ten Juni, 1914.

Bishop Ettwein's Ode for the Lovefeast at Christian's Spring, closing the Single Brethren's establishment there, Apr. 1, 1796

(Translated from the autograph poem signed "John Ettwein" in the Nazareth Archives, by A. L. Oerter.)

Thou house of God at Christian's Spring
Rejoice thou in the Lord, and bring
To Him praise, honor, adoration,
Forget 'fore Him past tribulation;
O may His gracious face divine
Today and ever on thee shine.

With thankful heart now muse upon
All He for Christian's Spring hath done,
Each year throughout the forty-seven,
We've seen and known how He has given
To all our brethren's labor here
His blessing and His faithful care.

Where'er we look, each fertile field
Of this the beauteous trace doth yield;
Where once stood forest thick and gloomy
Lo, now fields, barns and houses roomy!
The brethren's industry it was
Produced this change so marvelous.

The Single Brethren's mind and heart
Esteemed it once the better part,
Dying to self and to God living,
Themselves to His blest service giving,
Labor and hardship not to shun
If thus their Lord's will might be done.

With this intent, this thought alone,
To Christian's Spring came many a one,
To farmer's work his strength devoting,
To plough, to harrow, shunning no thing,
Fields, orchards, gardens bloom around,
For thus their toil has decked the ground.

Alas, that we must now lament
The loss of this first good intent!
Unfaithfulness, sad deviation
The Saviour's eye saw at this station.
This long, alas! has been the cause
That made life here so arduous.

Some of this load to be relieved
'Twould be best, more than once believed,
This fine estate, complete and blooming
Some wealthy man should be assuming;
But to this scheme the household's Lord
Said "No," and we obey his word.

Now, therefore, we begin anew,
And still the old plan we'll pursue,
That, though in *separate* housekeeping,
In feeding, ploughing, sowing, reaping,
Each one shall have this aim in view
To please the Lord, in all you do.

Then He will be with you, and then
Your work will prosper here again
His peace will rule 'mongst you unceasing
The first love will be seen increasing
And slander, folly, envy, strife
Will not disturb your happy life.

Yours is the Father's love and care,
For in Christ's realm you have a share.
To show true faithfulness be vieing,
In word and deed God glorifying;
His peace and blessing then alway
Will rest upon you day by day.

III.

The Erection of the New Steeple on Nazareth Hall, June 16-27, 1785, and the Placing Thereon of the Ball and Vane, June 27.

(From the Nazareth Diary, June 27, 1785.)

About 2 p.m. the ball and vane were put up on our new steeple. When everything was ready for the work, a severe thunder-storm suddenly came up in the north. However, the ball and the vane were successfully hoisted up, and with the lightning-rod were securely fixed in position, just before a violent storm with heavy rain came up, and we were glad that none of the workmen suffered any injury. For two weeks we have had thunder-storms and rain almost daily, which hindered and made more difficult the building of the steeple and the putting of a new roof on the Hall. In the evening-service the inscription which had been placed in the ball on the steeple in the German and English languages was read to the congregation.

Inscription Placed in the Ball on the Steeple Erected on Nazareth Hall, June 27, 1785.

To all who read this document,—know ye that in the month of June of the year One Thousand, Seven Hundred and Eighty-five, this steeple was built and erected. Exactly thirty-eight years

had this month passed since the brethren and sisters then living at Nazareth, thirty-six married people besides the children, were organized as a Brethren's congregation, which took place June 25, 1747, in the presence of the brethren August Gottlieb Spangenberg, and the sainted brother Christian Frederick Cammerhof, just five years after the congregation in Bethlehem had been organized on June 25, 1742.

The erection of this steeple on the building in which the congregation at Nazareth have now for nearly thirty years held undisturbed their divine services according to the beautiful ritual of the Brethren's Church, and have so often realized with joy the unseen presence of the Head of His Church, causes them to recall with gratitude the many benefits and blessings which this congregation have received and enjoyed from our dear Saviour and His dear Father in Heaven, and especially the blessings which they have received in this House of Peace, in which on Sundays and festival-days all the members of the Nazareth congregation assemble from all the places of their abode, and present themselves before the Lord; and also reminds them and their children of some remarkable occurrences that have transpired since the first brethren arrived on the Nazareth land.

It was on the seventh of May, 1740, fifty-five years ago, that the sainted brother Peter Boehler and Anthony Seiffert arrived on the land which the English Methodist minister, George Whitefield, had bought in Pennsylvania and had named Nazareth, and at his request undertook the building of a house which he intended to be a school for negroes. In the year 1741, this land, which has the rights of a Barony, was sold by George Whitefield to the Brethren, and on Jan. 2, 1744, the above-named house was consecrated as a meeting-house for the brethren. In this house the congregation at Nazareth held their services until near the end of the year 1756. It was also used for many years as the home of an educational institution for children. After the Nazareth land had been cleared and cultivated more and more during the ten years following the dedication of this house and meeting-hall, and not only had a colony or farm been laid out by the Brethren in the vicinity of the above-named house, which is named Old Nazareth, but in addition colonies or farms had been laid out at three places on the Nazareth land, viz., Gnadenthal,

where nearly forty years ago a house-congregation had been organized on Dec. 2, 1745; further, Christian's Spring, where, in the year 1749 a Single Brethren's Economy was begun, and on Dec. 17 of the same year, nearly thirty-six years ago, the first dwelling-house for the Single Brethren was dedicated, and finally Friedensthal, which settlement was also commenced in the year 1749, then, on May 3, 1755, thirty years ago, in the presence of all those living on the Nazareth land in all the settlements, and of the whole congregation of Bethlehem, the corner-stone of the present meeting-hall was laid, and the meeting-hall was dedicated on the thirteenth of November. When this house was built it was designed to be not only the church and meeting-hall for the Nazareth congregation, but also a dwelling for the sainted Count Zinzendorf at that time the Ordinary of the Brethren's Unity, whose coming to America was at that time expected. But the sainted Ordinarius Fratrum never came to America after that time, and therefore this purpose of the building of the house was never fulfilled. Instead thereof, from 1759 to 1779 a school for boys, as also for some time a Paedagogium, was kept in this house, in which institutions there were sometimes more than a hundred children and boys.

In the year 1771, now fourteen years ago, the Brethren Christian Gregor and Johann Loretz, members of the Unity's Elders' Conference, who had come on a visitation to the Brethren's congregations in North America, being present, a new town was laid out, and in the same year the building of the first house in this town was begun.

(The town was laid out in January, under the direction of the brethren John Loretz, Christian Gregor, Nathaniel Seidel, John Ettwein, Hans Christian v. Schweinitz and Ferdinand Dettmers, and on Jan. 18 the measuring and laying out of the town was begun.)

In the fourteen years since it was begun, this town has been so built up that now, besides the Single Brethren's house, the corner-stone of which was laid May 3, 1773, and which was dedicated and occupied May 18, 1774, and the Single Sisters' house, the corner-stone of which was laid April 19, 1784, and which was dedicated and occupied Dec. 13, 1784, there are eighteen dwelling-houses. And inasmuch as, on account of the constantly in-

creasing growth of the town the necessity for a steeple has become more and more urgent, especially since the building of the Sisters' house, as the ringing of the bell for the services is heard much less than before by many of the townspeople, this has been the cause that the building of a steeple on this meeting-house, which was intended when the building of the Hall was begun, and has been considered unavoidably necessary since the building of the new town, has been accomplished in the month of June of this year One Thousand, Seven Hundred and Eighty-five. Three noteworthy events of the current year deserve mention here:

1. That in the month of March of this year, on the occasion of the presence of our dear brother John v. Watteville, who is at present in Pennsylvania, on a visitation to the Brethren's congregations in North America, the synodically enacted organizing of the congregation Conferences in Nazareth has taken place.

2. That the congregation in Schoeneck has been this year more closely united with Nazareth, and the oversight and service of this congregation has been committed to the Elders' Conference in Nazareth.

3. That in the fall of this year a Paedagogium is to be commenced again here in Nazareth, and for a beginning of the same the Boys' School of Bethlehem is to be transferred to Nazareth, and a Boarding School for boys is to be established here.

The Directing Board of the entire Brethren's Unity consisted in this year 1785 of the following thirteen members:

Helpers' Department.	*Wardens' Department.*	*Supervisors' Department.*
August Gottlieb Spangenberg,	Johann Fried. Reichel,	Johann Fried. Köber,
Johannes v. Watteville,	Johann Loretz,	Günther Anton Urban v. Lüdecke,
Heinrich v. Bruiningk,	Johann Christ'n Quandt,	Jonathan Briant.
Samuel Liebisch.	Heinrich der 28te Reuss,	
	Christian Gregor,	
	Renatus van Laer.	

The General Helpers' Conference of the Brethren's Congregations in Pennsylvania and the neighboring States consisted of the following ten members:

In Bethlehem.	*In Lititz.*	*In Nazareth.*
Johann Ettwein,	Matthäus Hehl,	David Zeisberger,
Johann Andreas Hübner,	Johann Aug. Klingsohr,	Franz Chrn. Lembke,
Hans Christ'n v. Schweinitz,	Jeremias Denke.	Carl Gotthold Reichel.
Paul Münster.		

The Elders' Conference of the Congregation at Nazareth consists of the following fifteen members:

Brethren.

David Zeisberger, Pastor,
Franz Chrn. Lembke, who for nearly thirty years served the congregation as Preacher, and is now Chaplain of the household at Old Nazareth,
Charles Gotthold Reichel, Preacher,
Johann Schropp, Warden,
Otto Chrn. Krogstrupp, Chaplain of the household at Gnadenthal,
Andrew Busse, Superintendent and Chaplain of the household at Christian's Spring,
Johannes Bonn, Warden at Christian's Spring,
Simon Meyer, Superintendent of the Single Brethren at Nazareth,
William Lister, Warden of the Single Brethren at Nazareth.

Sisters.

Anna Dorothea Zeisberger,
Catharine Lembke,
Anna Dorothea Reichel,
Anna Johanna Seidel, Widows' Superintendent,
Susanna v. Gersdorf, Single Sisters' Eldress,
Elisabeth Leinbach, Single Sisters' Warden.

The number of all persons belonging to the Congregation at Nazareth was: 98 married people, 8 widowers, 10 widows, 67 single brethren, 10 youths and boys, 39 single sisters, 10 older girls, 24 little boys, 22 little girls. Total, 288 persons. Of these there were dwelling

In the new town.....	140
In Old Nazareth.....	48
In Christian's Spring.....	65
In Gnadenthal.....	24
In Friedensthal.....	11
Total	288

An Ode or Apostrophe to the Gilded Ball put up on the Steeple of Nazareth Hall, June 27, 1785.

The steeple was built June 16-27. The Ode is not signed, and it is sarcely possible to determine the authorship. It could scarcely have been composed by the Rev. F. C. Lembke, who, after his long pastorate at Nazareth had been succeeded in Dec., 1784, by the Rev. C. G. Reichel, who was also the first Principal of the reorganized Boarding School opened in Nazareth Hall, Oct. 3, 1785. Either he, or Bro. Geo. Mueller, who had come with him from Europe and was one of the first teachers in the

Boarding School, and was teaching the Boys' School at Nazareth when the steeple was built, or, possibly, the Rt. Rev. John Ettwein, or the Rt. Rev. John, Baron de Watteville, then on a visitation to the congregations in North America, may have been the author. Bro. Lembke, who had written a number of odes or verses for various occasions, after moving from the Hall to Old Nazareth to make room for Bro. Reichel, and whose strength had failed very greatly for two weeks before his death on *July 11, 1785*, was therefore scarcely in a condition to compose this Ode to the Gilded Ball, especially as the Memoir read at his funeral on July 13 (his birthday) states that for the previous *six months* there had been a perceptible decrease or failure of his mental and physical strength, *i.e.*, from the time of his retirement in Dec., 1784, followed in Jan., 1785, by the death of his promising son, Johann Renatus, which was felt very keenly by him, and probably hastened his end, although he bore the bereavement with resignation.

Omine surge bono, sta fixa aurata coronis
Testis evangelii civibus esto tuis;
Nam fulgore tuo tacito sermone loqueris,
Longaque sit tua sors Iridis esse loco.

Steige in die Höhe
unter lauter glücklichen Aspecten,
und bleibe unter göttlicher Obhut fest und lange sitzen,
Du verguldete Kugel;
sitze aber nicht leer und müszig
wie die heutigen Luftballen
mit ihren unnützen, ungewissen Aufsteigen und Niederfallen.
Sey mit deinem helleleuchtendem Anblick
auf alle Zeiten hinaus
nie ohne Wort sprechendes Zeichen und Zeugnisz
von dem was in diesem Hause des Herrn
dessen Zierde du bist
geglaubt, gelehret, gefühlt, besungen und ohne Schweigen getrieben wird,
von Gott unserm Heiland, Schöpfer und Erlöser
durch sein Blut und Tod
zum Heil aller armen Sünder die durch Ihn
und Ihn allein selig werden wollen, sollen und sind.
Lade sie ein mit deinem Anblick und zugleich
mit dem Klang der unter dir schwebenden Glocke
mit Theil zu nehmen an dieser Gnade und in demselben
unverrücklich einherzugehen bis an den Tag seiner Erscheinung.
Sey mit deinem Glanz von der lieben Sonne beleuchtet
allen die in diesem Hause aus und eingehen

und sich der schönen Gottesdienste erfreuen
eine Lehre dasz unser Herr sein Brüder-Volk
in diesen Zeiten gesetzt hat ein Licht der Welt
und ein Salz der Erde zu sein.
Sey mit deinem Schimmer ein langdauerndes
Zeichen und Zeugnisz der über dieses Haus und
Gemeine waltenden Obhut unsers Herrn
und Hirten, der seine Schaafe kennt und über ihnen hält,
und es versprochen hat dasz Niemand sie aus seines
Vater's Hand reiszen soll.
Sey ein solches Gnaden-Zeichen über und
so oft wir dich ansehen wie der Bogen Gottes
in den Wolken des Himmels
dasz Gott Nazareth gewogen,
dasz seine Gnade über uns walte
immer und ewiglich.
Sage in einem der künftigen Jahrhunderten
unsern Ur-Ur-Enkeln
die dich möchten einmal zu Gesichte kriegen
wem dieses Haus und Ländereyen
Nazareth, Gnadenthal, Christiansbrunn, Friedensthal
zugehören, wem dieselben vom Anfang an
gewidmet und geweihet seyn,
und dass wir auf diesem Land Gottes Lehnsleute
aber doch nicht anders als nur Fremdling und Pilger
auf dieser Erde
sein wollen und sollen auf Kind und Kindes Kind.
Sage ihnen, wie deine Inscription zu erkennen gibt
von den ersten Anfängen, Anlagen und Destination
dieses Hauses und dieser Baronie Nazareth
und dessen zeitherigen Fortgängen unter dem
Segen und Schutz Gottes, in der Gnade unsers Herrn
Jesu Christi,
und Beiwohnung des Heiligen Geistes
bis auf den Tag deiner Erhöhung am 27ten Juni, 1785,
ob auch deine inwendige Ansicht in erst undenklichen
Zeiten erfolgen sollte
Errinnere sie daran
was der Herr an seinem Haus und Volk gethan
denn seine Güte währet ewiglich.

In globum obauratum Turriculae noviter erectae atque aedibus sacris in Nazareth superstructae insuper impostum,
d. 27 Juni, 1785.

Translation of the Ode to the Gilded Ball.

BY THE REV. A. L. OERTER.

Rise to thy lofty position with omen auspicious and fix'd firm
Golden, sun-like sphere, there thy brightness display:
Silent yet eloquent witness and symbol of Christ's blessed gospel,
Long, like the Iris arch, speak thy message divine.
Integer vitae (Hor.).

Mount on high over all, this house adorning,
Gilded ball, with only favoring tokens,
Long hold thy place beneath divine protection,
Well and securely.

Not like air-balloons, rising and falling
Useless, uncertain, be thou empty and idle,
Let thy brightness be to all who behold thee
In future ages

Wordless, yet eloquent sign and evidence potent,
Telling of that which in this house of the Lord God
Which thou adornest, is taught, sung and transacted
Ne'er keeping silence,

Of God our Saviour, Creator and blessed Redeemer,
Who by His blood and death procured salvation,
For all poor souls who would be saved by Him only,
Saved by His grace.

By thy lustrous sheen invite them to share it,
While the tones of the bell beneath thee swinging
Bid them to come and in this grace continue
Till He appeareth.

With thy sun-born radiance be unto all those
Who go in and out, and delight in this worship,
Sign that the Lord His Brethren's Church has appointed
A light to the nations.

Be with thy glist'ning a long-enduring token
Of His watchful care who as the Good Shepherd
Knoweth His sheep, and out of the hand of His Father
None shall e'er pluck them.

Be unto us as oft as we look upon thee
Like the beautiful bow of God in the heavens
Sign that God unto Nazareth is kind, and that ever
His grace rules over us.

Tell in days remote our children's children
Whose this house and all these fair estates are,
Nazareth, Gnadenthal, Friedensthal, Christian's Spring also,
To whom dedicated.

Tell them that we are only God's poor tenants
Here on these estates, we and our children
And children's children. On this earth we're only
Strangers and pilgrims.

Tell them, as made known by thy Inscription,
The first beginnings, ground-work, destination
Of this fair manor-house and all composing
Baronial Nazareth.

Tell them how God's blessing and protection
The grace of Jesus Christ, the Holy Spirit's
Abiding presence, gave us happy progress
Till thine uplifting.

Tell to ages remote, if then revealing
Thine inner aspect, all that for His people
The Lord hath done, for His unfailing goodness
Is everlasting.

To the gilded ball placed on the steeple recently erected as a superstructure on the church (Nazareth Hall), at Nazareth, June 27, 1785.

HISTORICAL AND STATISTICAL MATTER

RELATING TO

THE WIDOWS' SOCIETY

OF BETHLEHEM.

COLLECTED AND COMPILED FROM THE MINUTES OF THE SOCIETY

BY AUGUSTUS H. LEIBERT.

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I.

HISTORICAL NOTE.

THE WIDOWS' SOCIETY OF BETHLEHEM AND VICINITY.

Addendum to "A Brief History of the Widows' Society of Bethlehem" (v. Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society, Vol. II, pp. 49-124).

BY THE REV. A. SCHULTZE, D.D., L.H.D.

A brief history of this Beneficial Society, one of the oldest if not the oldest of its kind in this country, was published in 1880, by its Secretary. It traced the development of this venerable association, from its beginning in 1770, through 110 years of slow but steady growth in usefulness. It is now proposed to give a continuation of this history through the thirty-five years, from 1880 to the present time, to complete the record of its proceedings and to show its present status.

At the annual meeting, in July, 1880, the Secretary reported, that so far as known, there were then 227 members of the Society living and 80 widows in the care of the Society. The dividends for that year amounted to $27 for each widow, and it was the smallest sum that had been paid since 1863, owing to the unusually large number of widows, the small dividends on some stocks owned by the Society, and the small increase in membership during that year. The officers elected for the ensuing year were: Simon Rau, H. B. Luckenbach, Wm. Leibert, Ch. Belling, C. A. Luckenbach, H. S. Krause and J. C. Weber. Treasurer: Francis Rauch, and Secretary: Aug. Schultze. The assets of the Society amounted to $37,019.73.

Among the applicants for admission, during the next year, was Bro. Darius Starbuck, of Salem, N. C., 63 years old. As there was no age limit in the laws of the Society, he was admitted and after his demise, in 1887, his widow enjoyed the benefit of her husband's having joined, for twenty-two years. At the next annual meeting, however, it was resolved, that thereafter the age of admission should be limited to 60 years. The following year, the sentiment of the general meeting was expressed to

the effect, that as soon as practicable, all stocks of the Society should be exchanged for either Bonds or Loans on Mortgage and the directors following out this instruction, at once disposed of $5000 stock of the L. V., Penn. R. R. and the Lehigh Coal & Navigation.

In 1884, ten widows entitled to the annuity departed this life, among them Lydia Rice, who had received her first dividend in 1833. The total membership then was 225, the number of widows 73 and the dividend to each of them $33. It was then resolved, for the first time, that an advertisement of the Society setting forth the advantages to be gained from joining this Society should be published in the *Moravian* and *Brueder Botschafter*, one-half column for three months in both papers.

In 1885, the Secretary, Bro. A. Schultze, having completed the twelfth year in that office, requested the brethren not to vote for his re-election. Accordingly, the meeting elected Bro. Julius D. Bishop as his successor. From that year on, the minutes of the general meeting were written in English, instead of German, as had been the rule from the beginning for 115 years. The following year, the new Secretary succeeded Bro. Francis M. Rauch, deceased, as Treasurer and Bro. Aug. Leibert was elected Secretary of the Widows' Society. The latter has since that year, up to date, that is for more than twenty-eight years, most acceptably filled this position, having been re-elected without opposition every year, an unprecedented record. It is characteristic for the economic and altruistic manner in which the business of this Society has ever been carried on, that, until a few years ago, no compensation whatever was given to or expected by the Secretary. The Treasurer's salary, in 1906, was raised from $25 to $50 per year, when the total amount paid out by the Treasurers, since the organization of the Society, had reached the sum of $188,661.47.

The first exception to the rule, that candidates for membership must present a doctor's certificate of good health, was made in 1885, when the three first missionaries to Alaska, Wm. Weinland, H. Kilbuck and Hans Torgersen, were received upon the testimony of the Provincial Mission Board, that according to the latest letters from these missionaries, they were all three in excellent health. Bro. Torgersen was drowned that same year

in the Kuskokwim River, but his widow has been reaping the fruit of that thoughtful provision of membership until this day. It was a noteworthy coincidence, that the certificate presented the following year, upon application, to the pioneer of the Alaska Mission, Bro. A. Hartmann, of Moraviantown, Canada, then 55 years of age, bore the number 555.

A token of the confidence which the Society has in the honest and efficient management of its affairs, is given in the retention of the same officers from year to year. Thus Bro. Simon Rau was a member of the Board of Directors from 1853 to 1905, that is for 52. There was a regular annual vote by ballot, though, year after year, and in 1884 a motion was offered, that a majority of all the votes cast at the annual election be necessary to elect any one to office; but the motion was lost. Three years later, Bro. A. C. Borhek, at the general meeting, upon motion, deposited the "vote of the Society for the old members" of the Board, viz.: Directors, C. H. Belling, Aug. S. Bishop, H. B. Luckenbach, J. C. Weber, Simon Rau, J. S. Krause and Jos. A. Rice; Treasurer, J. D. Bishop, and Secretary, Aug. Leibert. This method of one member casting the vote for the Society has been followed ever since, by re-electing the former members, excepting where death or declination to serve made a change necessary. It is a curious fact, in this connection, that since the resignation of Bro. Schultze as Secretary, in 1885, no minister of the Church has been in the directing board of the Society, until 1911, when in place of Bro. A. S. Bishop, deceased, the Rev. W. N. Schwarze was elected a member of the Board of Directors.

By 1888, the assets of the Society had risen to $41,935.66, of which amount $13,700 were invested in Bond and Mortgage, $20,000 in Loans and $7909 in Stocks. Two years later, the stocks had decreased to $3507, mostly by the sale of shares of the Easton National Bank stock, which a former treasurer had rightly declared to have been, for a long time, "the hen that laid the golden eggs" of the Society.

In 1891, Aug. S. Bishop offered an addition to Section 4 of the By-Laws, which, after considerable discussion, was adopted, to wit: "However, persons desiring to be admitted to membership of the Society may, if they so elect, become such under the following regulations: Upon presenting the application for mem-

bership, he shall pay into the treasury the sum of $10. If the application is favorably received, he shall then pay $40 additional, in eight equal, consecutive monthly payments. If unfavorably received, the amount so paid in shall be refunded. Immediately after the last payment, the Board of Directors shall again make due inquiry as to bodily health and fitness of the candidate, and if such be found favorable, he shall be declared a member of the Society. If rejected, the amount he has paid shall be returned to him, less one dollar. In case of the death of the applicant before the completion of all the monthly payments, the entire amount paid in shall be refunded to his legal heirs. If he ceases to pay the monthly installments necessary for membership, any amount so paid, less one dollar, shall be refunded by the Directors."

At the general meeting of 1892, a motion was offered to the effect, that the question of the continuing of a member who may leave the Moravian Church be referred to the Board of Directors. The following year, certain amendments to Article II of the Charter were presented by the Directors and discussed by the assembly. The substance of these amendments was, "that in the future the right to benefits shall cease, both when a member of the Society ceases to be a member of the 'Church of the United Brethren,' and when the wife or widow leaves the Moravian Church." After considerable debate the further consideration of this amendment was indefinitely postponed.

A most pleasing event occurring during the year of 1893 was the receipt of a letter addressed to the Directors by Bro. Abr. S. Schropp, covering bonds to the amount of $2000, donated to the Society as a tribute to his mother, Cornelia Schropp, who had departed this life in that year and who from 1841 to 1893, for fifty-two years, had received the annuities of this Society. This liberal and thoughtful gift was accepted with hearty thanks, to be entered as "the Maria Cornelia Schropp Fund." Another widow who died in 1897 and had enjoyed the benefit of the widows' pension for fifty-two years, from 1845 to 1897, was Mrs. Eliza Cooper, of Lancaster. The capital of the Society, by 1894, had increased to $48,850.64.

During the last twenty years, from 1894-1914, nothing specially noteworthy has transpired in the affairs of the Society. It

has, in its humble way, continued to give valuable help to many widows and has been steadily growing in its resources. In the membership, the high water mark was reached in 1878, when there were 230 members and 70 widows. At the annual meeting of 1914, there were reported 175 members of the Society, of whom 57 live in Bethlehem, 7 at Nazareth, 9 at Lititz, 13 at Salem, N. C., and 89 are scattering members. There are at present 69 widows, each of whom received an annuity of $44. It certainly is a good investment for a married man to pay once $50, (and nothing more,) in order to become a member of the Widows' Society and make such a provision for the benefit of his wife.

The assets, as reported at the last meeting, are: Bonds and Mortgage, $33,625.00; Other Loans, $16,899.12; Stock, $3,207.00; Cash, $3,437.84; Total, $57,168.96. The Secretary distributed a blueprint pamphlet of 18 pages, showing dividends as paid since 1879, list of widows, alphabetically arranged, and a table showing number of members received each year, since organization to 1914.

II.

AN ACT

TO INCORPORATE THE WIDOWS' SOCIETY OF BETHLEHEM.

WHEREAS it is represented to the Legislature, that a number of persons, members of the Episcopal Church of the United Brethren, resident at Bethlehem and elsewhere, have formed a Society for the humane and charitable purpose of ministering to the wants and alleviating the distress of their widows, and pray to be incorporated:

Therefore,

SECTION 1. *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, in General Assembly met, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same,* That JOSEPH RICE, the present President of *The Widows' Society of Bethlehem,* DAVID BISCHOFF, CHRISTIAN BORHECK, OWEN RICE, jun., JOHN FR. RAUCH, SAMUEL STIPE, JOHN HENRY SCHULTZ, JOHN SNYDER, and DAVID P. SCHNELLER, the present Directors thereof, together with all such persons as heretofore have been, or hereafter shall be duly admitted members of the said Society, agreeable to the Constitution and Fundamental Articles thereof, be, and they hereby are incorporated into a Society, by the name, style and title of *"The Widows' Society of Bethlehem,"* and by that name shall have perpetual succession, and all the rights, powers and privileges incident by law to a corporation.

SECTION 2. *And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid,* That the said Corporation and their successors, by the name, style and title aforesaid, shall forever hereafter be able and capable in law to purchase, have, receive, take, hold and enjoy, in fee simple or for a less estate or estates, any lands, tenements, rents, annuities, liberties, franchises and other hereditaments, by the gift, grant, bargain, sale, alienation, enfeoffment, release, confirmation or devise of any person or persons, bodies politic and corporate, capable and able to make the same, and further, that the said corporation and their successors may take and receive any sum or sums of money, goods and chattels, that have been, or hereafter shall be given or bequeathed to them by any person or persons, bodies politic or corporate, able and capable to make a bequest or gift thereof; *Provided,* That no misnomer of the said corporation and their successors, shall defeat or annul any gift, grant, devise or bequest to the said corporation, if the intent of the donor shall sufficiently appear upon the face of the gift, testament or other writing whereby any estate or interest was intended to pass to the said corporation; nor shall any non-user of the rights, liberties, privileges and authorities or any of them, hereby granted to the said corporation, create or cause a forfeiture thereof; *Provided nevertheless,* That

the clear yearly value or income of the messuages, houses, lands and tenements, rents, annuities and other hereditaments and real estate of the said corporation, and the interest of the money lent by the same, shall not exceed the sum of *Six thousand dollars.*

SECTION 3. *And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid,* That the said corporation and their successors shall have full power and authority to make, have and use one common seal, with such device and inscription as they shall think proper, and the same to break, alter and renew at their pleasure.

SECTION 4. *And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid,* That the following be, and they are hereby declared to be the Constitution and Fundamental Articles of the said Society, *that is to say:*

ARTICLES.

ARTICLE I.

The Society shall consist of those persons, being members of the Episcopal Church of the United Brethren, who shall, in the first instance, subscribe this Constitution, and of such as may hereafter be admitted as members thereof, according to the rules hereinafter prescribed.

ARTICLE II.

Candidates for membership shall be nominated either at the meetings of the Society or of the Board of Directors hereinafter appointed. The said Board of Directors shall make due inquiry as to the bodily health and fitness of the candidate, and if so many members of the Society or of the Board of Directors as shall be prescribed by the by-laws, vote in favor of admission, the candidate shall be admitted, upon complying with the other regulations which shall be prescribed for admission by the by-laws.

None but married men, who are members of the United Brethren, or who, not being such themselves, live in matrimony with a person being a member of the said Church of the United Brethren, shall be admitted as members of this Society. But only such as are members of the said United Brethren, shall have a vote upon any question respecting the concerns of this Society, or be eligible as officers of the same.

ARTICLE III.

Each member shall, at the time of his admission, and every year during the time of his membership, pay to the Treasurer, for the use of this Society, such sum or sums as shall be directed by the by-laws; and provision may be made by the by-laws, for the exemption of members reduced in their circumstances from the annual payments, during their inability.

ARTICLE IV.

The moneys paid by the members at the time of their admission or readmission, as well as all grants, gifts, donations and bequests to this Society, shall, from time to time, be invested in productive funds, or loaned on interest, as shall be directed by the by-laws, and the interest arising on

the said capital stock, as well as the yearly contributions of the members, shall be distributed to the widows, relicts of deceased members of the Society, in such a manner as shall be prescribed by the by-laws, but the said capital stock shall at all times remain entire and inviolate, as long as this Society shall exist.

ARTICLE V.

Seven Directors, a Treasurer, a Secretary and three Auditors shall be elected by ballot at the stated meeting in every year. Whenever any of the said offices shall become vacant, the vacancy shall be filled by a new election at the next stated meeting after the vacancy shall have happened, or, in case of urgency, at a special meeting of the Society, to be called for the purpose. The said seven Directors, together with the Treasurer and Secretary aforesaid, shall constitute a Board to superintend the general concerns of the Society, and, at their first meeting after each election, shall choose one of the said seven Directors as President. Provision shall be made in the by-laws for conducting the affairs of the Society, if at any time the same shall be so much reduced in number, as to make it impracticable to constitute a Board of Directors, as herein before directed.

ARTICLE VI.

The duties of all the officers shall be such as are implied in their titles, and shall be prescribed by the by-laws.

ARTICLE VII.

The Society shall hold its stated meeting on the first Thursday in the month of July, in every year. Adjourned and special meetings may be held, as shall be provided for by the by-laws.

ARTICLE VIII.

A member may be expelled for unfaithful, immoral or unworthy conduct, by the votes of two-thirds of the voting members present; but eighteen of the voting members shall be necessary to constitute a quorum for the purpose of such trial, which shall not be held, unless a written notice of the facts charged shall have been given to the party accused, at least thirty days before the time of such trial. It is, however, expressly decreed, that the right, interest and claim of the widow of any expelled member to the benefits accruing from this Society, shall, in no instance, be impaired or defeated by such expulsion, provided all the dues prescribed by the by-laws be regularly paid during the life of any such expelled member, but not otherwise.

ARTICLE IX.

This constitution shall be subscribed by every member at the time of his admission, and the time of his subscribing, with the name of the place of his residence and his age, shall be noted opposite to his name, and each member shall receive a certificate of his membership, certified by the President, and attested by the Secretary; with the seal of the Society affixed, and a printed copy of this constitution and the by-laws.

ARTICLE X.

It is unalterably and irrevocably decreed, that, if any unforeseen accident or other cause should ever occasion a dissolution of this Society, which, however, shall not be understood to have taken place, until all the members thereof, and all and every the widows, entitled to the benefits thereof, shall have become extinct, the funds of this Society, without diminution or defalcation, shall be divided into two equal parts; one moiety whereof shall be transferred to, and become the property of, such committee or committees of the several Congregations of the United Brethren in the United States, as shall have been appointed by the voting members of such Congregations respectively, to take care of their widows, in trust and for the use of such widows; and the other moiety thereof shall, in like manner, be transferred to such committee or committees in the aforesaid Congregations, which shall have been appointed in the same manner as aforesaid, to take care of the education of their children and to administer the funds established for that purpose, in trust and for the use of their schools; each of these moieties to be divided amongst the aforesaid committees, in proportion to the number of families resident in the aforesaid Congregations respectively at the time of such transfer; on condition, nevertheless, that the said funds, so as aforesaid transferred to the said committees, be kept entire and unimpaired by them and every and each of them, and the interest thereof only be applied to the uses and purposes aforesaid. And to the faithful execution of this article, according to its true intent and meaning, we, the subscribers, and each of us, hold ourselves, collectively and individually, firmly bound.

SECTION 5.. *And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid,* That the said Society shall have power to make by-laws, as well as to carry into effect the provisions herein contained, as for the effectual and convenient conduct of the affairs of the Society; *Provided,* That the same be not repugnant to the Constitution and Laws of the United States or of this Commonwealth: *And Provided,* That no by-laws shall be enacted, altered or repealed, but at a stated meeting, nor unless fifteen of the voting members shall be present at such stated meeting: *And Provided,* That the by-laws already made and now in force in the said Society, shall continue and be in force until altered or repealed in manner herein before declared: *And Provided also,* That no by-law shall ever be made to alter the nature, or impair the binding force of the foregoing articles of the Constitution hereby enacted.

SECTION 6. *And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid,* That the estates and funds of every description of the existing Association or associated Society, called *"The Widows' Society of Bethlehem,"* be, and they are hereby declared to be vested in the Society incorporated by this act, in full property, and subject to the disposal thereof agreeably to the provision hereinbefore contained. *Provided always,* That nothing in this

act shall be so construed as to impair or diminish the responsibility of any individual or individuals, for the payment of any debts contracted for this Society, and by its order, for which he would have been otherwise liable.

JNO. GILMORE,
Speaker of the House of Representatives.

WM. MARKS, JUN.,
Speaker of the Senate.

Approved, March the seventh, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-one.

JOSEPH HIESTER.

III.

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE WIDOWS' SOCIETY, 1770-1914.

Memb. Certif. No.	Name.	Date Admitted.	Age.	Residence.	Date of Death.
791	Abel, Allen	December 27, 1895	29	Hector, Minn.	
1	Albrecht, Andreas	November 27, 1770	52	Bethlehem, Pa.	April 19, 1802
426	Albright, Joseph J.	February 9, 1839	27	Nazareth, Pa.	1888
856	Albright, Samuel C.	December 10, 1909	35	Coopersburg, Pa.	
619	Amer, William N.	March 30, 1867	32	Lancaster, Pa.	1899
338	Anders, John D.	March 6, 1829	57	Bethlehem, Pa.	November 6, 1847
2	Andreas, Abraham	November 27, 1770	45	Bethlehem, Pa.	October 26, 1802
493	Andress, Abraham	June 16, 1849	48	Bethlehem, Pa.	1873
3	Andrew (the negro)	November 27, 1770	40	Bethlehem, Pa.	April 13, 1779
537	Anton, Peter	July 10, 1856	55	Bethlehem, Pa.	August 19, 1872
128	Aust, Gottfried	January 7, 1772	49	Salem, N. C.	February 20, 1787
459	Bachman, Henry C.	July 15, 1844	39	Westfield, Kanass	June 12, 1871
582	Bachman, Henry T.	January 21, 1865	25	Sharon, Ohio	October 5, 1896
242	Bachman, Philip J.	August 10, 1816	54	Lititz, Pa.	November 15, 1837
162	Bachhof, Ludolph G.	January 4, 1774	63	Friedberg, N. C.	September 21, 1776
4	Bader, Philip Chrn.	November 27, 1770	55	Bethlehem, Pa.	March 15, 1797
173	Bage, Nicholas Lorenz	July 4, 1775	43	Salem, N. C.	January 20, 1889
502	Bahnson, Geo. F.	November 5, 1849	44	Salem, N. C.	September 11, 1869
746	Bahnson, Geo. F.	May 20, 1884	29	Ebenezer, Wis.	
725	Bahnson, Henry T.	September 21, 1879	34	Salem, N. C.	
320	Bardill, George R.	January 21, 1826	37	Nazareth, Pa.	May 16, 1859
657	Bardill, Henry J.	May 17, 1871	42	Nazareth, Pa.	
220	Bardill, John	January 4, 1804	46	New York City	October 1, 1845
797	Bardill, John F.	October 19, 1896	42	Nazareth, Pa.	July 13, 1910
758	Barrow, Henry W.	February 8, 1886	58	Salem, N. C.	April 5, 1905
201	Bartow, Thomas	July 3, 1792		Philadelphia, Pa.	January 26, 1793
880	Barres, Oliver M.	March 23, 1914	36	Bethlehem, Pa.	
424	Bealer, Amos	March 10, 1838	28	Bethlehem, Pa.	July 11, 1870
734	Bealer, Clement T.	September 11, 1882	37	Easton, Pa.	

Memb. Certif. No.	Name.	Date Admitted.	Age.	Residence.	Date of Death.
712	Beam, Abraham T.	May 22, 1877	49	Lancaster, Pa.	1908
598	Beam, Samuel T.	September 20, 1865	59	Lancaster, Pa.	1873
567	Beck, Abraham R.	May 5, 1863	29	Lititz, Pa.	
5	Beck, Henry Ferd.	November 27, 1770	60	Bethlehem, Pa.	January 14, 1783
566	Beck, J. Augustus	May 5, 1863	32		
724	Beck, Jacob H.	June 19, 1879	49	Nazareth, Pa.	December —, 1901
328	Beck, John, Jr.	June 21, 1827	36	Lititz, Pa.	March 26, 1873
216	Beck, John Martin	July 11, 1797	50	Mt. Joy, Pa.	February 14, 1827
476	Beckel, Charles F.	June 24, 1846	45	Bethlehem, Pa.	June 6, 1880
482	Beckler, Julius T.	February 9, 1847	33	Lititz, Pa.	March 8, 1875
359	Beears, S.	September 24, 1834	30	Bethlehem, Pa.	April 13, 1837
416	Beitel, Christian H.	August 13, 1836	47	Nazareth, Pa.	September 16, 1847
254	Beitel, John, Jr.	January 1, 1817	35	Nazareth, Pa.	August 1, 1870
669	Beitel, John F.	February 28, 1873	26	Nazareth, Pa.	
449	Beitel, Josiah O.	April 7, 1843	32	Nazareth, Pa.	February 7, 1898
770	Beitel, R. O.	August 2, 1890	45	Nazareth, Pa.	
532	Beitel, William	May 21, 1855	39	Nazareth, Pa.	August 26, 1869
596	Belling, Augustus	August 22, 1865	57	Bethlehem, Pa.	April 24, 1880
571	Belling, Christian H.	June 29, 1863	43	Bethlehem, Pa.	August 16, 1897
748	Belling, Richard C.	September 11, 1884	34	Easton, Pa.	
620	Belling, Sylvester	May 21, 1867	45	Bethlehem, Pa.	October 15, 1902
382	Benade, Andrew	October 21, 1833	64	Lititz, Pa.	October 31, 1859
211	Benzien, C. Ludwig	January 3, 1797	43	Salem, N. C.	November 13, 1811
341	Benzien, William L.	April 21, 1829	31	Salem, N. C.	December 1, 1832
106	Berndt, Gottlieb	December 27, 1770	52	Nazareth, Pa.	March 16, 1772
189	Beutel, C. Frederick	January 18, 1782	29	Bethlehem, Pa.	June 3, 1833
199	Beutel, John	January 3, 1792	52	Nazareth, Pa.	September 27, 1840
214	Bievighausen, George	January 3, 1797	42	Salem, N. C.	September 24, 1806
367	Bigler, David	May 26, 1832	28	Bethlehem, Pa.	July 2, 1875
6	Birnbaum, Joachim	November 27, 1770	56	Bethlehem, Pa.	June 22, 1708
221	Bischoff, David	July 3, 1805	56	Bethlehem, Pa.	November 2, 1827
682	Bishop, Augustus S.	April 20, 1874	27	Bethlehem, Pa.	August 24, 1910

Memb. Certif. No.	Name.	Date Admitted.	Age.	Residence.	Date of Death.
293	Bishop, Charles D.	August 18, 1822	38	Bethlehem, Pa.	July 18, 1853
489	Bishop, D. Henry	December 6, 1848	33	Bethlehem, Pa.	December 10, 1874
711	Bishop, Edwin P.	January 3, 1877	27	Bethlehem, Pa.	
743	Bishop, Emil J.	January 7, 1884	26	Bethlehem, Pa.	
458	Bishop, Gilbert	May 21, 1844	27	Indian Territory	September 23, 1907
281	Bishop, J. Jonathan	November 18, 1820	34	Bethlehem, Pa.	November 11, 1860
744	Bishop, Julius D.	January 16, 1884	29	Bethlehem, Pa.	
733	Bishop, Rufus N.	September 26, 1881	24	Jamaica, W. I.	August 13, 1888
805	Blair, William A.	January 11, 1898	38	Salem, N. C.	
308	Blech, Carl Gottlieb	July 27, 1824	68	Bethlehem, Pa.	September 6, 1832
374	Bleck, Charles A.	October 15, 1832	28	Bethlehem, Pa.	January 17, 1850
421	Blickensderfer, Henry	January 11, 1838	29	Lititz, Pa.	1896
376	Blickensderfer, Jacob	February 6, 1833		Canal Dover, O.	September 19, 1856
494	Blickensderfer, Jacob, Jr.	June 16, 1849	33	Tuscarawas, O.	February 26, 1899
810	Blickensderfer, Jesse	September 5, 1898	54	Lebanon, Mo.	
202	Blum, Frederick	July 3, 1792	51	Hope, N. J.	February 1, 1813
217	Blum, Jacob, Sr.	January 6, 1801	62	Salem, N. C.	December 9, 1803
7	Boeckel, George F.	November 27, 1770	54	Bethlehem, Pa.	October 21, 1780
8	Boeckel, Tobias	November 27, 1770	30	Bethlehem, Pa.	September 29, 1815
9	Boehler, Francis	November 27, 1770	48	Bethlehem, Pa.	June 4, 1806
141	Boehler, William	January 7, 1772	46	Bethlehem, Pa.	April 11, 1806
313	Boenhof, John Gerhard	October 8, 1825		St. Croix, W. I.	December 3, 1848
129	Bonn, Jacob	January 7, 1772	38	Salem, N. C.	October 31, 1781
237	Borheck, Christian	June 30, 1816	40	Bethlehem, Pa.	April 29, 1828
148	Borheck, John Andr.	January 5, 1773	46	Bethlehem, Pa.	May 14, 1791
715	Borhek, Ashton C.	October 2, 1877	40	Bethlehem, Pa.	March 6, 1898
558	Borhek, Frederick R.	July 9, 1860	38	Bethlehem, Pa.	June 24, 1890
487	Borhek, James T.	September 21, 1848	40	Bethlehem, Pa.	July 24, 1888
640	Borhek, Morris A.	February 11, 1870	27	Bethlehem, Pa.	
718	Boring, Edwin M.	December 6, 1877	38	Philadelphia, Pa.	
260	Bourquin, Johann Fr.	July 2, 1818	56	Bethlehem, Pa.	April 1, 1850
10	Brandmiller, John	November 27, 1770	66	Bethlehem, Pa.	August 16, 1777

Memb. Certif. No.	Name.	Date Admitted.	Age.	Residence.	Date of Death.
650	Breder, Cyrus E.	January 11, 1871	29	Bethlehem, Pa.	March 13, 1913
638	Brickenstein, Herman A.	March 24, 1869	34	Bethlehem, Pa.	July 1, 1895
455	Brickenstein, John C.	March 29, 1844	44	Bethlehem, Pa.	June 18, 1880
875	Bricker, David P.	May 2, 1913	30	Lititz, Pa.	
741	Bricker, John R.	June 19, 1883	41	Lititz, Pa.	October 4, 1912
818	Bricker, Owen F.	February 9, 1900	52	Lancaster, Pa.	July 16, 1905
537	Brietz, Charles	December 16, 1854	43	Salem, N. C.	January 12, 1894
395	Brown, Matthew	November 11, 1834	39	Bethlehem, Pa.	November 22, 1866
519	Brown, William L.	July 23, 1853	36	Bethlehem, Pa.	July 19, 1860
663	Brunner, C. Otto	February 5, 1872	41	Bethlehem, Pa.	September 7, 1911
645	Brunner, David	June 25, 1870	45	Lititz, Pa.	November 25, 1888
883	Brunner, Edmund de S.	September 9, 1914	25	Coopersburg, Pa.	
833	Brunner, Edward H.	September 1, 1902	53	Washington, D. C.	
790	Brunner, Franklin H.	September 20, 1895	35	Bethlehem, Pa.	
430	Buchner, Henry	July 23, 1839	28	Jamaica, W. I.	July 19, 1865
342	Burkhard, John C.	June 30, 1829	57	Salem, N. C.	August 28, 1846
302	Busse, Christian D.	April 30, 1824	34	Nazareth, Pa.	April 2, 1871
321	Bute, George H.	January 21, 1826	34	Philadelphia, Pa.	February 13, 1870
686	Butner, James A.	July 27, 1874	44	Hope, Ind.	
702	Chapman, William	July 24, 1875	59	Bethlehem, Pa.	December 13, 1902
246	Christ, Christian	August 10, 1816	42	Lititz, Pa.	June 19, 1828
508	Christ, Francis W.	July 20, 1850	34	Lititz, Pa.	April 27, 1883
352	Christ, Jacob	November 10, 1829	47	Emmaus, Pa.	1843-4
825	Christ, Jacob W.	March 18, 1902	55	Philadelphia, Pa.	1868
592	Christ, James	March 14, 1865	53	Emmaus, Pa.	not known.
158	Christ, John Jacob	July 2, 1773	32	Nazareth, Pa.	April 2, 1805
326	Christ, John Jacob	December 26, 1826	45	Nazareth, Pa.	November 3, 1861
335	Christ, Matthew	July 3, 1828	32	Bethlehem, Pa.	May 13, 1882
170	Christ, Melchior	January 3, 1775	40	Nazareth, Pa.	February 24, 1806
507	Christ, P. Augustus	July 20, 1850	37	Lititz, Pa.	May 3, 1859
477	Christ, Richard C.	June 27, 1846	34	Nazareth, Pa.	August 29, 1899

Memb. Certif. No.	Name.	Date Admitted.	Age.	Residence.	Date of Death.
609	Clauder, Frederick A.	March 7, 1866	28	Bethlehem, Pa.	May 13, 1875
616	Clauder, Henry Gottlieb.	August 9, 1866	60	Bethlehem, Pa.	January 5, 1888
730	Clauder, Henry T.	November 20, 1880	39	Bethlehem, Pa.	January 20, 1915
516	Clewell, Benjamin	June 18, 1853	49	Nazareth, Pa.	December 31, 1879
485	Clewell, F. Thomas	September 9, 1847	56	Schoeneck, Pa.	1866
504	Clewell, Frederick	May 10, 1850	58	Salisbury, Pa.	July 2, 1871
755	Clewell, John H.	November 23, 1885	30	Salem, N. C.	
699	Clewell, Lewis P.	March 29, 1875	32	Graceham, Md.	January 9, 1904
835	Clewell, Robert E.	January 19, 1903	31	Newfoundland, Pa.	
87	Coelln, Claus	December 19, 1770	46	Lititz, Pa.	April 6, 1806
386	Collis, John	May 5, 1834	35	Fairfield, Jamaica	August 14, 1837
11	Colver, Ephraim, Jr.	November 27, 1770	27	Bethlehem, Pa.	March 24, 1775
534	Cooper, Charles W.	February 25, 1856	33	Lancaster, Pa.	not known.
460	Cooper, J. George	August 1, 1844	42	Lancaster, Pa.	September 10, 1845
647	Crist, Alfred	October 6, 1870	42	Bethlehem, Pa.	Otcober 26, 1897
642	Crist, Traugott	March 9, 1870	53	Salem, N. C.	
225	Cunow, J. Gebhard	August 26, 1829	51	Bethlehem, Pa.	August 26, 1829
511	Daily, Patrick	October 28, 1850	35	Monroe Co., Pa.	August 15, 1877
388	Damus, Frederick W.	July 4, 1834	40	New Herrnhut, W. I.	December 11, 1837
332	Danke, Franz C.	June 7, 1828	42	Nazareth, Pa.	January 26, 1854
184	Dealing, John	January 13, 1778	30	Philadelphia, Pa.	September 10, 1785
275	Denke, Christian	January 2, 1820	44	Lititz, Pa.	January 12, 1838
121	Denke, Jeremias	July 2, 1771	45	Bethlehem, Pa.	May 28, 1795
481	Desh, Daniel	December 28, 1846	32	Bethlehem, Pa.	August 21, 1895
795	Desh, Orlando B.	July 7, 1896	52	Bethlehem, Pa.	
796	Desh, William D.	July 13, 1896	48	Bethlehem, Pa.	
12	Detmers, Ferdinand	November 27, 1770	52	Bethlehem, Pa.	August 21, 1801
77	Dickert, Jacob	December 19, 1770	30	Lancaster, Pa.	February 27, 1822
648	Diehm, Jacob	December 12, 1870	71	Lititz, Pa.	December 28, 1882
13	Digeon, David	November 27, 1770	48	Bethlehem, Pa.	April 7, 1777
722	Doster, Herman A.	March 8, 1879	46	Bethlehem, Pa.	

Memb. Certif. No.	Name.	Date Admitted.	Age.	Residence.	Date of Death.
436	Doster, J. Lewis	November 2, 1840	44	Bethlehem, Pa.	May 26, 1860
716	Doster, W. Emil	October 2, 1877	40	Bethlehem, Pa.	
147	Ears, Robert	July 7, 1772	76	Hebron, Pa.	December 26, 1776
355	Ebbecke, Christian Lewis	February 8, 1830	27	Schoeneck, Pa.	April 13, 1875
347	Ebbecke, John Christian	August 20, 1829	64	Schoeneck, Pa.	July 22, 1837
391	Eberman, William	August 22, 1834	47	Lititz, Pa.	April 17, 1857
91	Ebert, Martin	December 19, 1770	46	Yorktown, Pa.	Withdrew 1784
353	Eder, Francis	December 17, 1829	31	Salem, N. C.	November 18, 1836
110	Edmonds, William	January 1, 1771	62	Plainfield, Pa.	Withdrew 1773
288	Eggert, Benjamin	June 19, 1822	29	Bethlehem, Pa.	July 29, 1860
586	Eggert, Charles H.	January 31, 1865	34	Philadelphia, Pa.	November 16, 1907
14	Eggert, Christian	November 27, 1770	56	Bethlehem, Pa.	April 15, 1780
235	Eggert, Christian	January 1, 1816	55	Bethlehem, Pa.	October 20, 1827
224	Eggert, Matthew	July 3, 1805	42	Bethlehem, Pa.	September 22, 1831
420	Elliott, John	January 2, 1838	39	Jamaica, W. I.	February 26, 1885
113	Engler, J. George	January 2, 1771	32	Bethlehem, Pa.	June 2, 1775
108	Erd, Adam von	December 31, 1770	48	Bethlehem, Pa.	March 14, 1794
608	Erdman, Martin A.	March 3, 1866	42	New York	1878
185	Ernst, J. Jacob	July 7, 1778	48	Bethania, N. C.	December 4, 1802
613	Erwin, Ambrose J.	May 14, 1866	36	Bethlehem, Pa.	April 23, 1885
378	Erwin, John F.	May 30, 1833	30	Bethlehem, Pa.	February 8, 1883
306	Esterlein, Daniel	July 22, 1824	64	Bethlehem, Pa.	November 27, 1829
15	Ettwein, John	November 27, 1770	49	Bethlehem, Pa.	January 2, 1802
628	Evans, John	January 6, 1868	42	Carbon Co., Pa.	not known.
198	Eyerle, Jacob, Jr.	January 3, 1792	35	Nazareth, Pa.	May 11, 1800
690	Eysenbach, Lewis	August 5, 1874	55	Bethlehem, Pa.	April 19, 1893
551	Fett, John F.	February 27, 1860	59	Green Bay, Wis.	September 9, 1881
555	Fetter, Herman M.	June 22, 1860	46	Bethlehem, Pa.	March 29, 1876
450	Fetter, John George	May 9, 1843		Lancaster, Pa.	September 9, 1856
304	Fetter, Marcus	May 31, 1824	51	Bethlehem, Pa.	May 22, 1827
858	Fink, Frank	December 23, 1909	54	Emmaus, Pa.	

Memb. Certif. No.	Name.	Date Admitted.	Age.	Residence.	Date of Death.
16	Fisher, Thomas	November 27, 1770	58	Bethlehem, Pa.	January 24, 1784
799	Fluck, L. Wayne	January 25, 1897	50	Riverside, N. J.	January 5, 1902
123	Fockel, Gottlieb	July 2, 1771		Wachovia, N. C.	December 17, 1778
180	Fockel, Samuel	July 2, 1776	57	Lititz, Pa.	Resigned, 1789
757	Fogle, Charles Alex.	January 11, 1886	36	Salem, N. C.	
756	Fogle, Christian H.	January 11, 1886	39	Salem, N. C.	May 22, 1898
672	Fradeneck, Theodore O.	July 28, 1873	38	Bethlehem, Pa.	July 18, 1898
78	Franck, Jacob	December 19, 1770	56	Lancaster, Pa.	April 13, 1787
96	Franck, J. Christian	December 19, 1770	59	Bethlehem, Pa.	August 22, 1782
753	Frey, Nathan	September 19, 1885	33	Lititz, Pa.	November 21, 1809
277	Freytag, Eberhard	May 3, 1820	56	Bethlehem, Pa.	March 4, 1846
447	Freytag, John S.	September 1, 1842	40	Niesky, W. I.	1850
612	Friebele, John A.	April 30, 1866	49	Mt. Bethel, Va.	1886
499	Fries, Francis L.	August 2, 1849	36	Salem, N. C.	August 1, 1863
429	Fries, John Ch. W.	July 17, 1839	63	Salem, N. C.	January 20, 1866
667	Fries, John W.	January 27, 1873	26	Salem, N. C.	
437	Frueauff, Eugene A.	November 10, 1840	34	Lititz, Pa.	January 12, 1879
828	Frueauff, Eugene K.	November 14, 1901	50	Ann Arbor, Mich.	
575	Frueauff, J. Frederick	February 29, 1864	25	Hollidaysburg, Pa.	November 8, 1886
252	Fuehrer, Frederick	January 1, 1817	48	Bethlehem, Pa.	March 2, 1849
500	Fuehrer, Henry	August 9, 1849	44	Bethlehem, Pa.	April 9, 1886
17	Fuehrer, Valentine	November 27, 1770	46	Bethlehem, Pa.	January 12, 1808
18	Gambold, Hector	November 27, 1770	46	Bethlehem, Pa.	November 10, 1788
607	Gapp, Philip H.	March 3, 1866	46	Progress, N. J.	May 18, 1894
857	Gapp, Samuel H.	December 1, 1909	36	Bethlehem, Pa.	
19	Garrison, Nicholas, Sr.	November 27, 1770	69	Bethlehem, Pa.	September 24, 1782
119	Garrison, Nicholas, Jr.	May 28, 1771	45	Philadelphia, Pa.	not known.
515	Geissler, August Moritz	April 28, 1853	37	Jamaica, W. I.	August 18, 1878
182	Geitner, J. George	January 14, 1777	61	Lititz, Pa.	February 28, 1818
545	George, Josiah	February 11, 1858	36	Bethlehem, Pa.	December 28, 1886
192	Gerhard, Conrad	January 8, 1782	42	Bethlehem, Pa.	February 24, 1815

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614	Gerlach, Lewis A.	May 30, 1866	46	Bethlehem, Pa.	January 16, 1892
581	Gerstner, Franz A.	January 16, 1865	38	Bethlehem, Pa.	May 20, 1911
470	Giering, Adam	December 30, 1845	36	Bethlehem, Pa.	April 16, 1874
411	Giering, William F.	September 5, 1835	42	Emmaus, Pa.	August 11, 1873
149	Giersch, Christian	January 5, 1773	48	Bethlehem, Pa.	June 5, 1707
394	Goepp, Philip H.	October 17, 1834	36	Bethlehem, Pa.	November 21, 1872
319	Goetz, J. Philip	September 12, 1825		St. John's, W. I.	July 25, 1827
383	Gold, Philip	January 24, 1834	39	Bethlehem, Pa.	November 10, 1860
564	Goth, Anthony	February 12, 1862	37	Bethlehem, Pa.	October 15, 1878
615	Graeff, John	June 14, 1866	48	Lebanon, Pa.	February 4, 1893
79	Graff, George	December 19, 1770	68	Lancaster, Pa.	March 16, 1777
125	Graff, J. Michael	January 7, 1772	57	Bethabara, N. C.	August 29, 1782
824	Greenfield, John	February 1, 1901	35	Ephraim, Wis.	
111	Gregor, Christian	January 2, 1771	49	Bethlehem, Pa.	November 6, 1801
798	Greider, Allen L.	December 28, 1896	40	Lebanon, Pa.	
737	Greider, Edwin C.	February 9, 1883	25	St. John's, W. I.	
598	Greider, Eugene P.	December 13, 1865	40	Graceham, Md.	October 17, 1904
579	Greider, George T.	September 19, 1864	49	Lititz, Pa.	April 14, 1898
598	Greider, Paul M.	December 8, 1906	40	Brooklyn, N. Y.	
443	Grider, Jacob	June 16, 1842	54	Lititz, Pa.	February 3, 1858
576	Grider, Orville A.	July 4, 1864	31	Bethlehem, Pa.	August 30, 1888
881	Groenfeldt, Samuel	April 14, 1914	46	Sturgeon Bay, Wis.	
278	Grosch, Daniel	July 3, 1820	47	Lititz, Pa.	1846
325	Grosh, Jacob	October 14, 1826	49	Marietta, Pa.	November 4, 1860
814	Grosh, Lawrence H.	October 24, 1899	37	Lititz, Pa.	
719	Grosh, Samuel E.	December 21, 1877	42	Lititz, Pa.	December 30, 1902
837	Grosh, C. William	June 22, 1903	42	Lititz, Pa.	
836	Grunert, F. E.	May 13, 1903	44	Lebanon, Pa.	
683	Grunert, M. Eugene	June 12, 1874	51	Salem, N. C.	June 4, 1887
740	Grunert, William E.	May 31, 1883	30	Salem, N. C.	
97	Grube, B. Adam	December 19, 1770	55	Bethlehem, Pa.	March 20, 1808
76	Grün, John George	December 15, 1770	48	Bethlehem, Pa.	June 5, 1796

Memb. Certif. No.	Name.	Date Admitted.	Age.	Residence.	Date of Death.
434	Guetter, Henry G.	May 23, 1840	42	Bethlehem, Pa.	July 8, 1847
92	Gump, George	December 19, 1790	61	Yorktown, Pa.	September 7, 1792
226	Gundt, Sebastian	January 7, 1812	38	Bethlehem, Pa.	April 3, 1852
345	Gundt, George Henry	July 15, 1829	23	Bethlehem, Pa.	November 23, 1877
772	Gutensohn, J. Peter	December 13, 1890	46	Bethany, Minn.	
20	Haberland, Michael	November 27, 1770	72	Bethlehem, Pa.	June 3, 1782
766	Haehnle, Charles	February 25, 1890	27	Chaska, Minn.	
21	Hafner, Jacob	November 27, 1770	61	Christiansbrunn, Pa.	February 16, 1773
195	Haga, Godfrey	January 4, 1791		Philadelphia, Pa.	February 5, 1825
371	Hagen, J.	August 4, 1832	61	Salem, N. C.	January 15, 1844
24	Haidt, Valentine	November 27, 1770	70	Bethlehem, Pa.	January 18, 1780
324	Hall, Christian	August 26, 1826	51	Lititz, Pa.	June 30, 1848
177	Hall, James	July 2, 1776	51	Bethlehem, Pa.	July 9, 1783
88	Haller, Heinrich	December 19, 1770	51	Lititz, Pa.	April 10, 1788
410	Ham, John	September 5, 1835		Lititz, Pa.	July 24, 1848
373	Haman, Adam	September 18, 1832	42	Bethlehem, Pa.	January 13, 1857
298	Haman, John S.	December 14, 1823	36	Nazareth, Pa.	February 18, 1866
605	Haman, James	January 2, 1866	28	Gnadenhuetten, O.	March 31, 1894
708	Hambreight, Adam	August 18, 1876	59	Lititz, Pa.	December 14, 1893
473	Hamilton, Allen	February 17, 1846	31	Friedensthal, W. I.	December 22, 1885
764	Hamilton, J. Taylor	January 21, 1889	29	Bethlehem, Pa.	
736	Hamman, E. H.	January 15, 1883	39	Emmaus, Pa.	
583	Hamman, Henry P.	January 21, 1865	32	Bethlehem, Pa.	June 4, 1893
22	Hanke, Matthias	November 27, 1770	63	Gnadenthal, Pa.	January 3, 1785
652	Hanna, George Henry	February 14, 1871	37	Jamaica, W. I.	not known.
723	Hark, J. Maximillian	April 24, 1879	29	Philadelphia, Pa.	
761	Hartman, A.	December 22, 1886	55	Moraviantown, Canada	November 20, 1906
693	Hartman, C. F.	September 14, 1874	54	Nazareth, Pa.	December 30, 1893
307	Hartman, George A.	July 25, 1824	43	Staten Island, N. Y.	May 7, 1839
23	Hartman, John G.	November 27, 1770	47	Gnadenthal, Pa.	June 13, 1802
882	Hartman, Wm. F.	June 18, 1914	45	Bethlehem, Pa.	

Memb. Certif. No.	Name.	Date Admitted.	Age.	Residence.	Date of Death.
138	Hasse, John C.	January 7, 1772	31	Bethlehem, Pa.	June 24, 1797
536	Hastings, John Lewis	July 10, 1856	31	Antigua, W. I.	December 26, 1888
593	Hauck, Nicholas	April 10, 1865	53	Bethlehem, Pa.	January 9, 1892
850	Haupert, Albert	January 27, 1909	43	Green Bay, Wis.	
179	Hauser, Daniel	July 2, 1776	32	Hope, Ind.	May 19, 1812
80	Hayne, J. Christoph	December 19, 1770	55	Lancaster, Pa.	January 11, 1781
93	Heckendorn, John	December 19, 1770	54	Yorktown, Pa.	July 12, 1788
190	Heckenwelder, C. Renatus	January 8, 1782	31	Bethlehem, Pa.	January 31, 1803
98	Hehl, Mattheus G.	December 19, 1770	65	Bethlehem, Pa.	December 4, 1787
862	Heise, A. E.	January 12, 1911	42	Green Bay, Wis.	
780	Helmich, Edmund	August 28, 1893	28	Alaska	
863	Helmich, E. F.	January 12, 1911	43	Davenport, N. D.	
639	Henry, James	March 27, 1869	60	Nazareth, Pa.	June 14, 1895
415	Henry, J. Joseph	May 23, 1836	49	Boulton, Pa.	December 2, 1836
81	Henry, William, Sr.	December 19, 1770	41	Lancaster, Pa.	December 15, 1786
191	Henry, William, Jr.	January 8, 1782	24	Nazareth, Pa.	April 22, 1819
633	Hepp, George	February 25, 1868	34	Lititz, Pa.	October 16, 1906
872	Hepp, George L.	October 25, 1912	48	Lititz, Pa.	
713	Herbst, Robert W.	August 6, 1877	26	Gracehill, Iowa	March 22, 1896
327	Herman, John G.	June 5, 1827	36	Lancaster, Pa.	July 20, 1854
878	Hermany, W. S.	January 19, 1914	47	Bethlehem, Pa.	November 7, 1914
75	Herr, Samuel	December 15, 1770	54	Bethlehem, Pa.	February 24, 1773
377	Hillman, Aaron	June 27, 1833	58	Bethlehem, Pa.	May 3, 1852
830	Hinz, John	April 17, 1902	35	Bethel, Alaska	
548	Hoch, J. Jonathan	October 26, 1859	33	Nazareth, Pa.	1870
510	Hoeber, Christian R.	September 18, 1850	48	Nazareth, Pa.	January 19, 1881
668	Hoeber, Edward E.	January 27, 1873	33	Nazareth, Pa.	August 20, 1911
259	Hoeber, Nicholas E.	July 2, 1818	58	Nazareth, Pa.	August 4, 1830
446	Hohe, Joachim H.	September 1, 1842	51	Niesky, W. I.	October 23, 1846
623	Holland, Francis R.	July 4, 1867	47	Hope, Ind.	May 21, 1894
86	Hopson, John	December 19, 1770	50	Lancaster, Pa.	September 20, 1804
89	Horn, Andreas	December 19, 1770	53	Lititz, Pa.	November 14, 1786

Memb. Certif. No.	Name.	Date Admitted.	Age.	Residence.	Date of Death.
25	Horning, Christian	November 27, 1770	47	Bethlehem, Pa.	August 11, 1812
166	Horsfield, Israel	July 5, 1774	32	Newport, Pa.	November 21, 1801
205	Horsfield, Joseph	July 3, 1792	40	Bethlehem, Pa.	September 9, 1834
140	Horsfield, Timothy, Sr.	January 7, 1772	63	Bethlehem, Pa.	March 9, 1773
26	Horsfield, Timothy, Jr.	November 27, 1770	38	Bethlehem, Pa.	April 11, 1789
301	Horsfield, William	April 13, 1824	53	Emmaus, Pa.	February 8, 1845
767	Hoyler, Jacob	February 25, 1851	51	Watertown, Wis.	May 22, 1890
868	Hoyler, Clement	December 8, 1911	39	Dundurn, Canada	
27	Huber, George	November 27, 1770	52	Bethlehem, Pa.	May 9, 1790
322	Huebner, Abraham	January 21, 1826	60	Bethlehem, Pa.	February 10, 1831
372	Huebner, Abraham L.	August 13, 1832	26	Bethlehem, Pa.	October 30, 1870
631	Huebner, Lewis R.	February 28, 1868	37	Bethlehem, Pa.	March 28, 1874
28	Huebner, Ludwig	November 27, 1770	53	Bethlehem, Pa.	Withdrew, 1776
685	Huebner, Matthias	July 13, 1874	48	Lititz, Pa.	October 8, 1884
697	Huebner, O. T.	March 29, 1875	40	Lititz, Pa.	
354	Huebner, Samuel R.	January 28, 1830	34	Gnadenhuetten, O.	June 7, 1849
370	Hueffel, Chr. Gottlieb	July 9, 1832	69	Herrnhut, Germany	June 7, 1842
654	Hunter, John W.	February 21, 1871	44	Salem, N. C.	not known.
39	Hussey, Robert	November 27, 1770	57	Bethlehem, Pa.	July 8, 1775
679	Israel, John C.	March 6, 1874	54	West Salem, Ill.	1900
637	Iverson, A. M.	March 4, 1869	46	Fort Howard, Wis.	January 6, 1907
689	Jacobson, Edward H.	August 5, 1874	43	Bethlehem, Pa.	July 6, 1896
834	Jacobson, Henry A.	September 17, 1902	57	Bethlehem, Pa.	November 25, 1911
407	Jacobson, John C.	June 24, 1835	24	Salem, N. C.	November 24, 1870
865	Jacot, G. A.	January 12, 1911	50	Bethlehem, Pa.	
30	Jansen, Just	November 27, 1770	51	Bethlehem, Pa.	June 28, 1790
806	Johnston, Archibald	February 28, 1898	33	Bethlehem, Pa.	
273	Jones, Joseph	July 22, 1819	64	Bethlehem, Pa.	December 18, 1824
588	Jones, Maurice C.	February 22, 1865	54	Bethlehem, Pa.	November 19, 1881
533	Jordan, Francis	June 29, 1855	40	Philadelphia, Pa.	August 13, 1885

Memb. Certif. No.	Name.	Date Admitted.	Age.	Residence.	Date of Death.
349	Jordan, John, Jr.	October 3, 1829	59	Philadelphia, Pa.	March 23, 1890
627	Jordan, John W.	November 22, 1867	27	Philadelphia, Pa.	
257	Jundt, John Jacob	July 2, 1818	43	Bethlehem, Pa.	October 9, 1831
82	Jung, Marcus	December 19, 1770	65	Lancaster, Pa.	Withdrew, 1781
31	Jungman, J. George	November 27, 1770	50	Bethlehem, Pa.	July 17, 1808
362	Kafke, Charles M.	June 27, 1831	49	Bethlehem, Pa.	November 14, 1857
296	Kampman, C. Frederick	September 4, 1823	77	Bethlehem, Pa.	November 6, 1832
451	Kampmann, Lewis F.	November 18, 1843	26	Canal Dover, Ohio	October 21, 1884
816	Kampmann, Theodore F.	January 16, 1900	42	Bethlehem, Pa.	
803	Kant, Theobald	April 10, 1897	41	North Addison, N. D.	
127	Kapp, Jacob	January 7, 1772	42	Bethabara, N. C.	not known.
709	Karl, J. J.	July 12, 1890	58	Canal Dover, O.	not known.
501	Kaucher, William	October 9, 1849	26	Bethlehem, Pa.	October 5, 1853
839	Keech, D. Hayes	January 30, 1905	37	Coopersburg, Pa.	
404	Keller, Frederick	March 18, 1835	41	Lititz, Pa.	October 3, 1852
801	Kemper, M. E.	January 25, 1897	40	Easton, Pa.	
418	Kern, Andrew G.	October 23, 1837	44	Nazareth, Pa.	December 25, 1874
735	Kern, Edward C.	January 1, 1883	37	Nazareth, Pa.	
563	Kern, Gustav A.	December 14, 1861	44	Nazareth, Pa.	August 3, 1902
283	Kern, John Chr.	January 1, 1822	36	Bethlehem, Pa.	August 1, 1841
752	Killbuck, John H.	June 11, 1885	24	Bethel, Alaska	
771	Kinsey, Calvin R.	October 3, 1890	39	Lock 17, Ohio	
484	Kleckner, Peter	August 2, 1847	40	Bethlehem, Pa.	September 17, 1879
32	Klein, George	November 27, 1770	65	Bethlehem, Pa.	July 21, 1783
194	Klingsohr, August	July 6, 1790	44	Bethlehem, Pa.	November 5, 1798
605	Klose, Charles	December 23, 1865	38	Philadelphia, Pa.	March 16, 1894
694	Klose, Edwin G.	September 14, 1874	29	Bethlehem, Pa.	September 15, 1894
463	Klose, John Gottlieb	September 3, 1844	46	St. Kitts, W. I.	September 9, 1855
401	Kluge, Charles F.	January 25, 1835	33	Lititz, Pa.	March 26, 1880
385	Kluge, Christian Lewis	April 10, 1834	25	Bethlehem, Pa.	January 22, 1860
600	Kluge, Edward T.	December 13, 1865	34	Nazareth, Pa.	September 21, 1912

Memb. Certif. No.	Name.	Date Admitted.	Age.	Residence.	Date of Death.
315	Kluge, John Peter	November 7, 1824	56	Graceham, Md.	January 30, 1849
295	Knauss, Charles	July 22, 1823	45	Bethlehem, Pa.	July 28, 1847
471	Knauss, Charles L.	December 30, 1845	41	Bethlehem, Pa.	August 13, 1859
560	Knauss, Cornelius M.	February 18, 1861	32	Bethlehem, Pa.	June 21, 1885
595	Knauss, George	July 31 1865	51	Nazareth, Pa.	May 15, 1888
639	Knauss, Francis W.	November 27, 1868	28	Moravia, Iowa	July 15, 1872
150	Knauss, Leonhard	January 5, 1773	28	Bethlehem, Pa.	May 14, 1823
742	Knauss, William V.	December 13, 1883	37	Bethlehem, Pa.	
210	Koehler, John Daniel	January 3, 1797	59	Salem, N. C.	January 28, 1805
135	Kornman, J. Theobald	January 7, 1772	50	Bethlehem, Pa.	August 1, 1805
215	Kramsch, Samuel G.	January 3, 1797	40	Hope, N. C.	February 2, 1824
680	Kratzer, Jacob	April 8, 1874	44	Bethlehem, Pa.	March 28, 1911
692	Krause, Cornelius W.	September 14, 1874	37	Bethlehem, Pa.	April 2, 1904
33	Krause, Henry	November 27, 1770	53	Bethlehem, Pa.	April 28, 1792
584	Krause, Henry S.	January 21, 1865	38	Bethlehem, Pa.	March 9, 1899
831	Krause, James E.	April 22, 1902	43	Bethlehem, Pa.	
606	Krause, J. Franklin	February 15, 1866	44	Bethlehem, Pa.	June 26, 1901
271	Krause, John	January 30, 1819	24	Bethlehem, Pa.	October 10, 1874
706	Krause, John Samuel	June 12, 1876	28	Bethlehem, Pa.	
541	Krause, Levin J.	December 16, 1856	39	Bethlehem, Pa.	May 16, 1877
456	Krause, Matthew	May 1, 1844	30	Bethlehem, Pa.	November 20, 1865
572	Krause, Robert P.	June 29, 1863	33	Bethlehem, Pa.	February 24, 1866
864	Krause, G. Fred.	January 12, 1911	38	Bethlehem, Pa.	
815	Kreider, Charles D.	November 23, 1899	31	Lititz, Pa.	
357	Kreider, Daniel	June 15, 1830	31	Lititz, Pa.	January 3, 1868
710	Kreider, William E.	December 18, 1876	48	Lancaster, Pa.	August 29, 1895
234	Kremser, John	January 1, 1816	58	Bethlehem, Pa.	November 11, 1823
139	Kremser, Matthias	January 7, 1772	48	Bethlehem, Pa.	
34	Krogstropp, Chrn. Otto	November 27, 1770	56	Bethlehem, Pa.	October 10, 1785
468	Kryder, Charles H.	October 21, 1845	32	Warwick, Pa.	
425	Kryder, William Jacob	September 15, 1838	40	Lititz, Pa.	1852-3
126	Kühnast, Christoph	January 7, 1772	58	Bethabara, N. C.	

Memb. Certif. No.	Name.	Date Admitted.	Age.	Residence.	Date of Death.
641	Kummer, C. Edward	February 23, 1870	36	Bethlehem, Pa.	October 28, 1913
312	Kummer, John G.	September 6, 1824	34	Bethlehem, Pa.	August 6, 1846
231	Kummer, John Jacob	July 6, 1813	31	Bethabara, N. C.	May 5, 1857
486	Kummer, Joseph H.	October 16, 1847	27	Friedensthal, W. I.	April 23, 1897
789	Kunkel, Frank	February 27, 1895	53	Nazareth, Pa.	June 11, 1912
35	Kunkler, Daniel	November 27, 1770	51	Bethlehem, Pa.	October 9, 1777
310	Kunkler, David	August 18, 1824	29	Bethlehem, Pa.	August 5, 1839
291	Langballe, Thomas	August 4, 1822	58	Lititz, Pa.	February 13, 1826
39	Lange, Gottlieb	November 27, 1770	54	Bethlehem, Pa.	November 8, 1791
270	Lange, Christian	June 30, 1819	53	Bethlehem, Pa.	June 17, 1837
480	Lange, Christian	June 24, 1846	44	Bethlehem, Pa.	March 8, 1866
99	Langgard, Andreas	December 19, 1770	58	Bethlehem, Pa.	March 21, 1777
745	Lanius, Charles C.	January 29, 1884	34	Bethlehem, Pa.	January 23, 1897
562	Lehman, Bernhard E.	July 20, 1861	25	Bethlehem, Pa.	February, 1892
823	Lehman, Egbert P.	November 26, 1900	55	Lititz, Pa.	
423	Lehman, Ernst L.	March 10, 1838	32	Bethlehem, Pa.	February 8, 1857
779	Lehman, Henry	December 19, 1891	53	Unionville, Mich.	
243	Lehnert, J. Peter	August 10, 1816	61	Lititz, Pa.	April 10, 1826
727	Leibert, Augustus H.	December 26, 1879	31	Bethlehem, Pa.	
557	Leibert, Eugene M.	July 9, 1860	25	Sharon, Ohio	May 2, 1910
859	Leibert, Joseph M., Jr.	December 23, 1909	36	Bethlehem, Pa.	
809	Leibert, Morris W.	August 11, 1898	43	Bethlehem, Pa.	
553	Leibert, Richard W.	May 1, 1860	27	Bethlehem, Pa.	
538	Leibert, William	July 10, 1856	33	Bethlehem, Pa.	March 6, 1901
488	Leibfried, John C.	September 21, 1848	39	Nazareth, Pa.	January 31, 1880
721	Leibfried, Levin F.	April 25, 1878	37	Nazareth, Pa.	
145	Leinbach, Frederick	July 7, 1772	34	Greenland, N. J.	not known.
728	Leinback, Henry A.	May 27, 1880	41	Salem, N. C.	
760	Leinback, Julius A.	June 29, 1886	52	Salem, N. C.	
611	Leinback, Permanio	April 24, 1866	35	Salem, N. C.	
591	Lelansky, F. William	March 11, 1865	49	Bethlehem, Pa.	December 6, 1894

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37	Lembke, Franz Chrn	November 27, 1770	66	Bethlehem, Pa	July 11, 1785
462	Lennert, Ferdinand G	August 1, 1844	29	Lititz, Pa	not known.
503	Lennert, William L	January 26, 1850	38	Nazareth, Pa	June 21, 1893
784	Leoser, Thomas	October 18, 1894	27	Elizabeth, N. J	May, 1909
222	Levering, Abraham	July 3, 1805	47	Bethlehem, Pa	March 16, 1835
808	Levering, J. Mortimer	August 11, 1898	49	Bethlehem, Pa	April 3, 1908
732	Levers, Aaron B	August 8, 1881	47	Bethlehem, Pa	
523	Lichtenthaeler, Abr	June 13, 1854	36	Jamaica, W. I	October 2, 1892
250	Lichtenthaeler, Adolph	August 10, 1816	47	Lititz, Pa	April 5, 1834
433	Lichtenthaeler, Chrn	May 5, 1840	38	Lititz, Pa	1855
569	Liliendahl, Wm. A	May 5, 1863	34	New York City	November 26, 1902
107	Lindenmeyer, Heinrich	December 28, 1770	42	Bethlehem, Pa	January 20, 1817
860	Lippincott, H. H	April 15, 1910	42	Riverton, N. J	
152	Lischer, John	January 5, 1773	53	Nazareth, Pa	May 12, 1782
176	L'Joungberg, John	July 2, 1776	39	Nazareth, Pa	September 13, 1808
366	Loeffler, Jacob F	May 14, 1832	60	Lititz, Pa	February 20, 1841
187	Loesch, Hermanus	July 6, 1779	53	Friedensthal, W. I	April 8, 1791
104	Loesch, Jacob	December 24, 1770	48	Bethlehem, Pa	November 8, 1782
112	Loretz, Johannes	January 2, 1771	63	Bethlehem, Pa	1798
316	Luch, J. Jacob	November 20, 1824	68	Bethlehem, Pa	November 26, 1831
358	Luckenbach, Abraham	September 18, 1830	53	Newfairfield, Canada	March 8, 1854
514	Luckenbach, C. Augustus	January 4, 1853	46	Bethlehem, Pa	June 25, 1882
428	Luckenbach, David	April 29, 1839	55	Bethlehem, Pa	August 30, 1850
700	Luckenbach, David O	July 21, 1875	42	Bethlehem, Pa	July 29, 1906
726	Luckenbach, Edward H	December 26, 1879	30	Bethlehem, Pa	July 13, 1883
651	Luckenbach, Francis E	January 11, 1871	32	Bethlehem, Pa	
422	Luckenbach, Henry B	March 10, 1838	24	Bethlehem, Pa	January 12, 1901
529	Luckenbach, Jacob	April 5. 1855	50	Bethlehem, Pa	May 9, 1888
282	Luckenbach, Jacob Chr	January 1, 1822	37	Bethlehem, Pa	May 16, 1852
794	Luckenbach, Jacob W	July 7, 1896	46	Bethlehem, Pa	November 21, 1897
688	Luckenbach, James S	August 5, 1874	37	Bethlehem, Pa	
517	Luckenbach, John Edw	July 23, 1853	34	Canal Dover, O	October 25, 1898

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842	Luckenbach, Leon	December 7, 1905	35	York, Pa.	
444	Luckenbach, Reuben O.	June 26, 1842	24	Bethlehem, Pa.	May 12, 1880
844	Luckenbach, Samuel D.	February 16, 1906	35	Bethlehem, Pa.	
554	Luckenbach, Thomas D.	May 1, 1860	41	Bethlehem, Pa.	June 16, 1871
261	Luecders, Thomas C.	July 2, 1818	36	Philadelphia, Pa.	1869
773	Madsen, Chr.	December 13, 1890	50	Centralia, Wis.	
280	Maehr, Johannes	October 21, 1820	56	St. Croix, W. I.	December 11, 1851
513	Malthaner, John C.	July 11, 1851	40	Bethlehem, Pa.	September 17, 1873
739	Martin, C. F.	March 17, 1883	57	Nazareth, Pa.	November 15, 1898
389	Masslich, Timothy	July 31, 1834	32	Lititz, Pa.	1875
168	Man, Samuel	January 3, 1775	56	Bethlehem, Pa.	July 9, 1783
869	Maurer, Andrew	February 16, 1912	37	Bethlehem, Pa.	
874	Meinert, D. C.	December 19, 1912	43	Hope, Ind.	
778	Meinert, Herman	December 19, 1891	43	Everest, Dak.	
666	Meinung, Alexander	January 6, 1873	45	Salem, N. C.	April 15, 1908
339	Meinung, F. C.	April 21, 1829	47	Salem, N. C.	September 7, 1851
206	Meinung, Ludwig	July 3, 1792	49	Salem, N. C.	August 1, 1817
402	Meller, Charles Lewis	February 14, 1835	45	Nazareth, Pa.	February 18, 1859
646	Meller, Francis W.	October 6, 1870	51	Salem, N. C.	January 24, 1887
144	Merk, J. H.	January 7, 1772	53	Lititz, Pa.	Excluded, 1773
167	Merk, John	July 5, 1774	50	Bethlehem, Pa.	December 18, 1796
782	Mewaldt, Julius	August 28, 1893	36	Waconia, Minn.	
130	Meyer, Jacob	January 7, 1772	47	Salem, N. C.	August 26, 1800
169	Meyer, John Adolph	January 3, 1775	56	Philadelphia, Pa.	October 7, 1781
400	Meyer, Jonas	January 29, 1835	36	Lititz, Pa.	December 18, 1873
664	Meyers, Edward T.	March 5, 1872	39	Bethlehem, Pa.	September 22, 1885
802	Meyers, Harry J.	February 2, 1897	31	Bethlehem, Pa.	
778	Michel, John Gottlieb	July 2, 1860	55	West Salem, Ill.	1876
38	Michler, John	November 27, 1770	49	Bethlehem, Pa.	June 19, 1785
39	Michler, John Wolfgang	November 27, 1770	55	Bethlehem, Pa.	October 5, 1785
405	Mies, Thomas	May 11, 1835	42	Hanover Township, Pa.	August 14, 1868

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384	Miksch, Jacob	March 25, 1834	46	Nazareth, Pa.	October 24, 1878
375	Miksch, John M.	January 14, 1833	34	Bethlehem, Pa.	July 28, 1882
40	Miksch, Michael	November 27, 1770	60	Gnadenthal, Pa.	June 28, 1792
94	Miller, Franz Jacob	December 19, 1770	51	Yorktown, Pa.	Withdrew, 1774
853	Miksch, Haydn N.	May 28, 1909	51	Lititz, Pa.	
253	Miller, George Godfrey	January 1, 1817	54	Philadelphia, Pa.	March 19, 1821
153	Miller, Heinrich	January 7, 177?	48	Nazareth, Pa.	November 13, 1779
116	Miller, Henry	May 28, 1771	69	Philadelphia, Pa.	March 31, 1782
364	Miller, Jacob	February 7, 1832	34	Warwick, Pa.	November 7, 1865
248	Miller, John	August 10, 1816	55	Lititz, Pa.	March 23, 1834
518	Miller, William F.	August 23, 1853		Bethlehem, Pa.	Adm. unpaid.
207	Moehring, John F.	January 5, 1796	58	Old Mans Creek, N. J.	April 11, 1804
175	Moehring, Michael	January 2, 1776	36	Nazareth, Pa.	April 30, 1796
41	Moeller, Joseph	November 27, 1770	57	Bethlehem, Pa.	February 8, 1778
42	Mordieck, Peter	November 27, 1770	54	Gnadenthal, Pa.	Withdrew, 1777
841	Morris, Harry T.	December 7, 1905	36	Bethlehem, Pa.	
662	Morrish, Alexander	November 22, 1871	36	St. Jan, W. I.	May 29, 1898
309	Mortimer, Benjamin	July 27, 1824	56	New York, N. Y.	November 10, 1834
265	Muecke, Matthew	December 26, 1818	63	Lititz, Pa.	October 4, 1832
403	Muecke, Michael	March 18, 1835		Lititz, Pa.	June 19, 1840
717	Mueller, David	December 3, 1877	54	West Salem, Ill.	1895
398	Mueller, J. G.	January 19, 1835	52	Friedensthal, W. I.	
838	Mueller, Karl A.	December 27, 1904	37	Watertown, Wis.	
43	Muenster, Paul	November 27, 1770	54	Bethlehem, Pa.	October 14, 1792
178	Muschbach, John	July 2, 1776	36	Hope, N. J.	
811	Nagle, Charles	September 19, 1898	54	Philadelphia, Pa.	
559	Neisser, Benj. Franklin	February 18, 1861	32	Bethlehem, Pa.	March, 1888
44	Neisser, George	November 27, 1770	55	Bethlehem, Pa.	November 1, 1784
45	Neisser, Joseph	November 27, 1770	47	Bethlehem, Pa.	June 25, 1793
361	Neisser, William	June 14, 1831	34	Bethlehem, Pa.	June 10, 1859
762	Neuman, Julius A.	October 7, 1887	39	South Bethlehem, Pa.	April 19, 1909

Memb. Certif. No.	Name.	Date Admitted.	Age.	Residence.	Date of Death.
143	Neupert, Daniel	January 7, 1772	67	Nazareth, Pa.	January 3, 1788
709	Niebert, F. T.	October 25, 1876		Antigua, W. I.	July 12, 1895
46	Nitschmann, David	November 27, 1770	72	Bethlehem, Pa.	October 8, 1772
100	Nixdorf, John George	December 19, 1770	70	Bethlehem, Pa.	September 29, 1785
848	Nitzschke, Fred R.	December 30, 1907	36	Elizabeth, N. J.	
47	Oberlin, John Francis	November 27, 1770	38	Bethlehem, Pa.	not known.
622	Oehler, Gottlieb F.	June 13, 1867	50	Bethlehem, Pa.	January 4, 1897
597	Oerter, Albert L.	September 11, 1865	28	Canal Dover, O.	April 10, 1915
48	Oerter, Christian Fred'k	November 27, 1770	54	Bethlehem, Pa.	April 25, 1793
636	Oerter, Edmund A.	January 25, 1869	26	Lebanon, Pa.	
512	Oerter, Henry J.	January 8, 1851	23	Bethlehem, Pa.	November 28, 1864
297	Oerter, John	September 14, 1823	29	Bethlehem, Pa.	February 5, 1866
408	Oerter, Lawrence F.	July 10, 1835	32	Nazareth, Pa.	June 5, 1883
819	Oerter, Maurice F.	May 5, 1900	35	Graceham, Md.	
687	Oerter, William H.	August 5, 1874	26	South Bethlehem, Pa.	
414	Oppelt, F. William	December 7, 1835	33	Bethlehem, Pa.	March 31, 1842
50	Otto, J. Matthew	November 27, 1770	56	Bethlehem, Pa.	April 29, 1793
49	Otto, John Fr.	November 27, 1770	58	Nazareth, Pa.	December 31, 1779
183	Otto, Joseph	July 1, 1777	32	Nazareth, Pa.	February 2, 1820
452	Paulick, John George	November 18, 1843	66	Lititz, Pa.	July 14, 1858
269	Paulus, Christian G.	June 30, 1819	54	Bethlehem, Pa.	November 6, 1821
90	Payne, Jasper	December 19, 1770	62	Lititz, Pa.	July 3, 1779
660	Peisert, C. Edward	August 17, 1871	49	Bethlehem, Pa.	October 13, 1899
171	Peizel, John	January 3, 1775	62	Yorktown, Pa.	
561	Perkin, George W.	April 4, 1861	42	Bethlehem, Pa.	December 10, 1893
51	Peter, Frederick	November 27, 1770	63	Nazareth, Pa.	April 29, 1791
142	Peter, John	January 7, 1772	42	Philadelphia, Pa.	October 10, 1793
209	Peter, John F.	July 5, 1796	50	Bethlehem, Pa.	July 13, 1813
729	Peterson, Edward	July 16, 1880	52	Salem, N. C.	February 17, 1906
279	Peterson, Hans	September 25, 1820	56	Lititz, Pa.	November 18, 1824

Memb. Certif. No.	Name.	Date Admitted.	Age.	Residence.	Date of Death.
786	Petterson, Andrew	January 19, 1895	37	Ephraim, Wis.	
618	Pfohl, Christian Thomas	January 6, 1801	41	Salem, N. C.	April 3, 1838
618	Pfohl, Chirstian Thomas	March 15, 1867	28	Salem, N. C.	May 29, 1909
812	Pfohl, Herbert A.	January 23, 1899	27	Salem, N. C.	
368	Pfohl, Theodore Christian	June 29, 1832	28	Salem, N. C.	1870
346	Pfohl, Samuel Thomas	July 15, 1829	27	Salem, N. C.	May 29, 1871
311	Pietsch, John G.	August 27, 1824	54	Bethlehem, Pa.	September 19, 1841
174	Pitschman, George	July 4, 1775	61	Bethlehem, Pa.	May 20, 1789
397	Plattner, Johann A.	January 19, 1835	40	Friedensberg, W. T.	May 12, 1840
696	Plessing, C. F.	January 30, 1775	59	Green Bay, Wis.	1886
52	Poppellwell, Richard	November 27, 1770	52	Bethlehem, Pa.	November 11, 1771
53	Powell, Joseph	November 27, 1770	59	Bethlehem, Pa.	November 23, 1774
765	Prince, A. C.	August 9, 1889	44	Bethlehem, Pa.	
247	Rack, John	August 10, 1816	41	Lititz, Pa.	not known.
804	Rau, Albert G.	August 27, 1897	29	Bethlehem, Pa.	
543	Rau, David	May 21, 1857	37	Bethlehem, Pa.	January 13, 1879
768	Rau, Eugene A.	June 27, 1890	42	Bethlehem, Pa.	
691	Rau, Robert	August 5, 1874	29	Bethlehem, Pa.	July 30, 1906
509	Rau, Simon	August 14, 1850	32	Bethlehem, Pa.	August 9, 1910
469	Rauch, Ambrose H.	December 30, 1845	26	Bethlehem, Pa.	September 9, 1908
464	Rauch, Charles W.	September 3, 1844	27	Bethlehem, Pa.	February 24, 1887
396	Rauch, Christian H.	December 5, 1834	46	Warwick, Pa.	November 22, 1866
535	Rauch, Francis M.	March 30, 1856	41	Lititz, Pa.	November 16, 1886
238	Rauch, John Fredk.	June 30, 1816	30	Bethlehem, Pa.	March 17, 1863
287	Rauch, John W.	June 2, 1822	31	Lititz, Pa.	March 11, 1863
427	Rauch, Reuben S.	April 27, 1839	26	Bethlehem, Pa.	May 1, 1884
461	Rauch, Rudolph F.	August 1, 1844	31	Lancaster, Pa.	February 9, 1879
677	Reck, G. Herman	January 14, 1874	57	Bethlehem, Pa.	June 22, 1900
671	Regennas, Edward J.	June 3, 1873	27	Unionville, Mich.	October 6, 1909
644	Regennas, Henry	April 8, 1870	49	Lititz, Pa.	January 16, 1901
578	Regennas, John J.	September 2, 1864	46	Schoeneck, Pa.	May 17, 1884

Memb. Certif. No.	Name.	Date Admitted.	Age.	Residence.	Date of Death.
684	Reich, Gustav Adolph	July 7, 1874	37	Bethlehem, Pa.	
197	Reichel, C. Gotthold	January 3, 1792	40	Nazareth, Pa.	April 18, 1825
490	Reichel, Edward H.	March 22, 1849	28	Bethlehem, Pa.	September 7, 1877
327	Reichel, Gotthold B.	July 26, 1827	41	Salem, N. C.	December 30, 1833
479	Reichel, Levin T.	October 5, 1846	34	Nazareth, Pa.	May 23, 1878
787	Reidenbach, Otis	January 9, 1895	33	Parry, N. J.	
294	Reinke, Abraham	February 23, 1823	70	Lititz, Pa.	February 16, 1833
531	Reinke, Amadeus A.	May 10, 1855	33	Staten Island, N. Y.	August 10, 1889
601	Reinke, Clement L.	December 21, 1865	31	Chaska, Minn.	
603	Reinke, Edwin E.	December 23, 1865	41	Olney, Ill.	September 3, 1894
300	Reinke, Samuel	April 13, 1824	32	Bethlehem, Pa.	January 21, 1875
188	Reizenbach, Philip Jacob	July —, 1781	56	Bethlehem, Pa.	September 22, 1802
131	Reuter, C. Gottlieb	January 7, 1772	54	Salem, N. C.	December 30, 1777
390	Rice, Edward	August 11, 1834	21	Lititz, Pa.	July 2, 1849
267	Rice, Jacob	May 9, 1819	26	Bethlehem, Pa.	December 3, 1862
439	Rice, James A.	June 29, 1841	27	Bethlehem, Pa.	September 9, 1850
272	Rice, John	June 30, 1819	28	Northampton, Pa.	August 22, 1868
240	Rice, Joseph	July 1, 1816	30	Bethlehem, Pa.	October 8, 1831
681	Rice, Joseph A.	April 20, 1874	30	Bethlehem, Pa.	October 8, 1909
236	Rice, Owen, Sr.	January 1, 1816	64	Bethlehem, Pa.	August 29, 1820
230	Rice, Owen, Jr.	July 6, 1813	25	Bethlehem, Pa.	January 5, 1856
299	Rice, William	December 14, 1823	24	Bethlehem, Pa.	January 17, 1833
659	Rice, William Henry	May 30, 1871	30	York, Pa.	January 10, 1911
877	Richter, Henry	December 18, 1913	47	Unionville, Mich.	
629	Rickert, Ferdinand D.	February 25, 1868	47	Lititz, Pa.	March 25, 1894
438	Rickert, John	June 29, 1841	34	Lititz, Pa.	December 3, 1849
442	Ricksecker, Benjamin	June 6, 1842	25	Basseterre, W. I.	August 30, 1888
542	Ricksecker, Edmund	May 21, 1857	42	Nazareth, Pa.	April 29, 1888
678	Ricksecker, Joseph J.	February 2, 1874	29	Olney, Ill.	
156	Ricksecker, Peter	January 7, 1773	62	Lititz, Pa.	February 9, 1778
419	Ricksecker, Peter	November 27, 1837	46	St. Kitts, W. I.	July 13, 1873
872	Riegel, Charles H.	December 19, 1912	34	Bethlehem, Pa.	

Memb. Certif. No:	Name.	Date Admitted.	Age.	Residence.	Date of Death.
867	Riegel, Howard A.	March 22, 1911	34	Bethlehem, Pa.	
626	Rights, Lewis Christian	October 17, 1867	47	Bethania, N. C.	January 9, 1891
506	Ritter, Abraham	July 13, 1850	57	Philadelphia, Pa.	October 8, 1860
707	Ritter, Isaac L.	June 12, 1876	55	Philadelphia, Pa.	1889
399	Robbins, George	January 19, 1835	45	Irwin Hill, W. I.	February, 1874
821	Rock, Samuel H.	June 29, 1900	27	Carmel, Alaska	
105	Roemelt, J. Gottfried	December 27, 1770	58	Bethlehem, Pa.	July 12, 1799
472	Roepper, William Theodore	February 17, 1846	35	Bethlehem, Pa.	March 11, 1880
101	Roesler, Gottfried	December 19, 1770	59	Bethlehem, Pa.	January 6, 1776
665	Romig, Benjamin	July 11, 1872	38	St. Croix, W. I.	May 31, 1903
822	Romig, J. H.	June 29, 1900	27	Bethel, Alaska	
851	Romig, John S.	January 27, 1909	39	Great Kills, N. Y.	
820	Romig, W. H.	April 20, 1900	45	Gracehill, Iowa	
698	Rommel, Philip H.	March 29, 1875	40	Palmyra, N. J.	
445	Rondthaler, Ambrose	July 23, 1842	29	Graceham, Md.	September 7, 1890
448	Rondthaler, Edward	October 1, 1842	25	Schoeneck, Pa.	March 5, 1855
661	Rondthaler, Edward	August 22, 1871	29	Brooklyn, N. Y.	
262	Rondthaler, Emanuel, Sr.	October 18, 1818	54	Nazareth, Pa.	June 6, 1847
440	Rondthaler, Emanuel, Jr.	November 29, 1841	26	Bethlehem, Pa.	November 30, 1848
855	Rondthaler, Howard E.	July 14, 1909	38	Salem, N. C.	
54	Rothe, John	November 27, 1770	44	Bethlehem, Pa.	July 22, 1791
200	Rubel, Jacob	January 3. 1792	66	Bethlehem, Pa.	September 6, 1813
154	Ruch, Michael	January 7, 1773	46	Christiansbrunn, Pa.	May 9, 1797
241	Rudolphi, J. Fredk.	August 10, 1816	52	Lititz, Pa.	March 3, 1825
524	Ruede, Herman	July 4, 1854	35	Bethlehem, Pa.	December 29, 1888
625	Rupp, Henry W.	October 1, 1867	30	Philadelphia, Pa.	
55	Rusmeyer, Adolph	November 27, 1770	55	Bethlehem, Pa.	July 4, 1797
120	Sangerhausen, N. Jacob	May 28, 1771	70	Bethlehem, Pa.	May 19, 1785
256	Sautter, William Fr.	July 2, 1818	43	Antigua, W. I.	July 22, 1825
229	Schaaf, Christian Fr.	July 6, 1813	54	Bethlehem, Pa.	July 23, 1841
56	Schaefer, J. Nicholas	November 27, 1770	48	Nazareth, Pa.	April 12, 1807

Memb. Certif. No.	Name.	Date Admitted.	Age.	Residence.	Date of Death.
539	Schaffner, Henry	August 12, 1856	58	Salem, N. C.	June 24, 1877
95	Schank, Joseph	December 19, 1770	52	Yorktown, Pa.	November 7, 1789
887	Schattschneider, W.	March 22, 1915	39	Durbin, N. D.	
83	Schenk, George	December 19, 1770	61	Lancaster, Pa.	April 6, 1777
151	Schindler, George	January 5, 1773	45	Bethlehem, Pa.	March 16, 1809
165	Schlosser, August	July 5, 1774	47	Nazareth, Pa.	May 3, 1792
115	Schlosser, George	May 28, 1771	56	Philadelphia, Pa.	February 25, 1802
849	Schmich, A. W.	July 24, 1908	49	Bethlehem, Pa.	
57	Schmick, John Jacob	November 27, 1770	56	Bethlehem, Pa.	January 28, 1778
845	Schmid, James R.	June 29, 1906	30	Bethlehem, Pa.	
381	Schmid, Johannes	October 22, 1833	36	Niesky, St. Thomas, W. I.	November 23, 1834
754	Schmid, Matthew J.	November 23, 1885	38	Bethlehem, Pa.	
58	Schmidt, Anton	November 27, 1770	45	Bethlehem, Pa.	March 15, 1793
60	Schmidt, Friederich	November 27, 1770	45	Bethlehem, Pa.	October 11, 1805
132	Schmidt, J. G.	January 7, 1772	52	Salem, N. C.	not known.
59	Schmidt, Johann	November 27, 1770	52	Nazareth, Pa.	February 17, 1786
264	Schnall, Johannes	October 18, 1818	64	Bethlehem, Pa.	September 7, 1819
193	Schneckenburger, Nicholas	July 7, 1789	44	Antigua, W. I.	November 5, 1794
155	Schneider, George	January 7, 1773	56	Nain, Pa.	October 7, 1773
186	Schneider, Hans Jacob	February 10, 1779	48	Hope, N. J.	not known.
213	Schneider, J. Martin	January 3, 1797	40	Salem, N. C.	not known.
233	Schneider, John	January 3, 1815	37	Bethlehem, Pa.	September 17, 1825
122	Schnell, J. George	July 2, 1771	58	Nazareth, Pa.	December 15, 1783
251	Schneller, David Peter	January 1, 1814	29	Bethlehem, Pa.	September 21, 1842
133	Schnepf, Daniel	January 7, 1772	54	Salem, N. C.	September 26, 1795
61	Schober, Andreas	November 27, 1770	60	Bethlehem, Pa.	July 14, 1792
793	Schoechert, John	December 27, 1895		Alaska	
413	Scholefield, John	November 4, 1835	38	Jamaica, W. I.	December 3, 1846
658	Schrader, Julius	May 22, 1871	50	Bethlehem, Pa.	August 4, 1871
274	Schroeter, Carl Fr.	January 2, 1820	69	Lititz, Pa.	March 28, 1821
585	Schropp, Abraham S.	January 31, 1865	23	Bethlehem, Pa.	
245	Schropp, Christian	August 10, 1816	47	Lititz, Pa.	August 31, 1826

Memb. Certif. No.	Name.	Date Admitted.	Age.	Residence.	Date of Death.
196	Schropp, John	July 5, 1791	40	Bethlehem, Pa.	July 4, 1805
343	Schropp, John	July 1, 1829	23	Bethlehem, Pa.	September 2, 1840
861	Schultz, A. R.	May 14, 1910	26	Strathcona, Alberta	
867	Schultz, Geo. Mac	December 8, 1911	47	West Salem, Ill.	
406	Schultz, Jacob	May 11, 1835	43	Salem, N. C.	not known.
886	Schultz, Paul T.	December 17, 1914	38	Newfoundland, Pa.	
365	Schultz, Samuel	March 26, 1832	37	Bethlehem, Pa.	January 30, 1857
258	Schultz, Theodor	July 2, 1818	48	Schoeneck, Pa.	August 4, 1850
670	Schultze, J. F. Augustus	April 17, 1873	33	Bethlehem, Pa.	
255	Schulz, John Henry	January 1, 1818	53	Bethlehem, Pa.	July 10, 1829
146	Schulze, Gottfried	July 7, 1772	34	Nazareth, Pa.	May 30, 1779
239	Schuster, George	July 1, 1816	37	Bethlehem, Pa.	December 11, 1831
788	Schwarze, Ernst N.	January 9, 1895	60	Egg Harbor, N. J.	February 13, 1905
854	Schwarze, W. N.	June 10, 1909	34	Bethlehem, Pa.	
526	Schweinitz, Bern. R. M. de	August 12, 1854	38	Lititz, Pa.	February 5, 1898
573	Schweinitz, Edmund de	October 22, 1863	38	Lititz, Pa.	December 18, 1887
505	Schweinitz, Emil A. de	May 20, 1850	33	Salem, N. C.	November 3, 1879
884	Schweinitz, Karl de	November 9, 1914	27	New Rochelle, N. Y.	
776	Schweinitz, Paul de	October 26, 1891	28	Nazareth, Pa.	
118	Schweinitz, H. C. A. von	May 28, 1771	30	Bethlehem, Pa.	February 26, 1802
266	Schweinitz, L. D. von	January 10, 1819	38	Salem, N. C.	February 8, 1834
594	Schweinitz, Robert W.	July 12, 1865	45	Salem, N. C.	October 29, 1901
102	Schweisshaupt, John	December 19, 1770	49	Bethlehem, Pa.	November 15, 1808
263	Schweisshaupt, Joseph	October 18, 1818	53	Nazareth, Pa.	December 8, 1842
289	Seidel, Charles F.	July 4, 1822	43	Bethlehem, Pa.	April 26, 1861
62	Seidel, Nathaniel	November 27, 1770	52	Bethlehem, Pa.	May 17, 1782
781	Seifert, C. Vincent	August 28, 1893	43	West Salem, Ill.	
331	Senseman, Christian D.	April 26, 1828	47	Nazareth, Pa.	December 13, 1834
602	Senseman, Edwin T.	December 21, 1865	47	Hope, Ind.	February 8, 1866
738	Shaffner, John F.	February 27, 1883	44	Salem, N. C.	September 18, 1908
549	Shaub, Elias	November 28, 1859	48	Bethania, N. C.	not known.
172	Shaukirk, Ewald Gustavus	January 3, 1775	49	New York City	March 19, 1805

Memb. Certif. No.	Name.	Date Admitted.	Age.	Residence.	Date of Death.
635	Shelly, Henry	December 15, 1868	35	Bethlehem, Pa.	
674	Shields, Elisha Ward	December 11, 1873	26	Gracehill, Iowa	January 5, 1890
763	Shields, Thomas W.	November 20, 1888	41	Gracehill, Antigua, W. I.	November 18, 1913
333	Shober, Emanuel	June 19, 1828		Salem, N. C.	June 14, 1846
546	Shultz, Henry A.	October 22, 1858	32	Bethlehem, Pa.	October 22, 1885
870	Shields, Edgar	July 15, 1912	35	Bethlehem, Pa.	
879	Shonk, John	March 13, 1914	36	Bethlehem, Pa.	
525	Siewers, Charles	July 4, 1854	38	Cincinnati, Ohio	not known.
284	Siewers, Henry Frank	January 1, 1822	64	St. Croix, W. I.	1824
457	Siewers, Jacob F.	May 1, 1844	39	Salem, N. C.	October 20, 1867
498	Siewers, John D.	July 6, 1849	30	Salem, N. C.	August 4, 1890
705	Siewers, Nathaniel	November 22, 1875	30	Salem, N. C.	January 12, 1901
379	Sigmund, Jacob F.	June 17, 1833	28	Bethlehem, Pa.	August 25, 1883
465	Smith, David Z.	April 18, 1845	23	Cherokee Nation	February 21, 1884
323	Smith, James E.	August 3, 1826	35	Philadelphia, Pa.	1846
655	Smith, John H.	April 19, 1871	37	West Salem, Ill.	
749	Smith, Callender S.	December 9, 1884	33	Carmel, Jamaica	
336	Sneckenburg, John T.	July 3, 1828	36	Bethlehem, Pa.	May 3, 1829
775	Snyder, John D.	February 4, 1891	57	Bethlehem, Pa.	May 22, 1892
653	Sonderman, Theodore	February 14, 1871	43	New York City	August 2, 1903
577	Souders, John	August 11, 1864	32	Lititz, Pa.	December 27, 1886
380	Sparmeyer, J. Jacob	October 22, 1833	49	Friedensberg, W. I.	1846
876	Sperling, C. Nelson	December 18, 1913	46	Stapleton, S. I., N. Y.	
63	Spohn, J. Matthaes	November 27, 1770	59	Christiansbrunn, Pa.	July 15, 1781
161	Stach, Matthaeus	January 4, 1774	62	Bethabara, N. C.	December 21, 1780
466	Stadiger, Herman L.	April 18, 1845	35	Upper Saucon, Pa.	January 4, 1866
228	Stadiger, John Fr.	July 7, 1812	45	Bethlehem, Pa.	November 16, 1849
306	Stadiger, John Fr., Jr.	April 23, 1830	26	Philadelphia, Pa.	July 6, 1851
731	Starbuck, D. H.	December 31, 1880	62	Salem, N. C.	May 26, 1887
392	Staude, Johann A.	August 22, 1834		Friedensthal, W. I.	January 25, 1852
701	Stauffer, Jacob B.	July 21, 1875	31	Manheim, Pa.	August 25, 1896
825	Stecker, Gottlieb Adolf	April 6, 1901	42	Bethel, Alaska	

Memb. Certif. No.	Name.	Date Admitted.	Age.	Residence.	Date of Death.
847	Stengel, W. F.	April 29, 1907	32	Bethlehem, Pa.	
852	Sterner, Allen J.	May 18, 1909	53	Bethlehem, Pa.	August 14, 1822
223	Steup, Samuel	July 3, 1805	47	Bethlehem, Pa.	August 22, 1781
160	Stoehr, J. Philip	January 4, 1774	57	Lebanon, Pa.	March 10, 1801
64	Stoll, John George	November 27, 1770	53	Bethlehem, Pa.	May 12, 1821
232	Stotz, John	July 4, 1814	61	Bethlehem, Pa.	
656	Stout, Franklin C.	April 19, 1871	34	Bethlehem, Pa.	August 25, 1915
817	Stout, R. P.	January 25, 1900	31	Christiansbrunn, Pa.	August 20, 1791
66	Stoz, Christian	November 27, 1770	59	Bethlehem, Pa.	August 16, 1782
65	Stoz, Ludwig	November 27, 1770	60	Salem, N. C.	September 5, 1820
212	Stoz, Samuel	January 3, 1797	44	Bethlehem, Pa.	July 25, 1794
159	Strehle, Rudolph	July 2, 1773	61	Bethabara, N. C.	September 12, 1827
276	Strohle, John Lewis	May 2, 1820	51	Lake Mills, Wis.	
783	Strohmeier, William	August 28, 1893	35	Nazareth, Pa.	
832	Sturgis, Albert O.	May 19, 1902	35	Lititz, Pa.	February 26, 1888
474	Sturgis, Alexander	April 20, 1846	32	Lititz, Pa.	not known.
617	Sturgis, Charles W.	September 4, 1866	49	Lititz, Pa.	June 25, 1873
590	Sturgis, Jacob A.	March 2, 1865		Lititz, Pa.	not known.
589	Sturgis, Oliver T.	March 2, 1865		Lititz, Pa.	December 21, 1844
350	Sturgis, Samuel	October 14, 1829	48	Lititz, Pa.	not known.
318	Suess, Paul	May 7, 1825	66	Graceham, Md.	September 8, 1857
453	Sussdorf, Ch. F.	November 18, 1843	36	Salem, N. C.	August 23, 1860
314	Sybrecht, Henry Wm.	September 15, 1824	44	St. Croix, W. I.	May 22, 1790
164	Sydrich, J. Daniel	July 5, 1774	47	Greenland, N. J.	
				Lititz, Pa.	May 19, 1804
181	Tanneberg, David	January 14, 1777	48	Winston-Salem, N. C.	
785	Thaeler, Arthur D.	December 22, 1894	23	Barbadoes, W. I.	December 14, 1901
624	Thaeler, Samuel L.	August 26, 1867	27	Bethlehem, Pa.	April 4, 1822
137	Thomas, Francis	January 7, 1772	39	Lancaster, Pa.	November 20, 1815
84	Thomas, Philip	December 19, 1770	36	Bethlehem, Pa.	July 31, 1797
109	Thorp, Edward	January 1, 1771	49	Antigua, W. I.	1874
491	Thraen, Francis F.	March 22, 1849	57		

Memb. Certif. No.	Name.	Date Admitted.	Age.	Residence.	Date of Death.
67	Thraene, Amadeus	November 27, 1770	52	Bethlehem, Pa	April 19, 1776
117	Tiersch, Paulus	May 28, 1771	43	Bethlehem, Pa	October 16, 1774
441	Tietze, Herman J	January 19, 1842	31	Hope, Ind	August 5, 1886
694	Tietze, William C	January 13, 1875	32	West Salem, Ill	January 30, 1910
68	Till, Jacob	November 27, 1770	57	Bethlehem, Pa	January 28, 1783
303	Tombler, Charles	May 31, 1824	23	Bethlehem, Pa	October 28, 1894
676	Tombler, Charles Edward	December 26, 1873	37	Evansville, Ind	December, 1888
675	Tombler, George Henry	December 26, 1873	43	Easton, Pa	July 6, 1906
520	Tombler, Lucius Oliven	August 29, 185?	29	Philadelphia, Pa	September 17, 1905
750	Torgesen, Hans	June 11, 1885	35	Moraviantown, Canada	August 10, 1885
417	Traeger, Gabriel	April 1, 1837	27	Bethlehem, Pa	June 8, 1839
244	Traeger, J. Gottfried	August 10, 1816	46	Lititz, Pa	May 31, 1823
574	Traeger, Jos. H	February 22, 1864	26	Bethlehem, Pa	August 18, 1895
633	Transue, Josiah	September 7, 1868	43	Bethlehem, Pa	February 1, 1897
409	Troeger, Geo. F	July 24, 1835	43	Hebron, Pa	August 22, 1874
714	Tschudy, Haydn H	October 2, 1877	37	Lititz, Pa	July 25, 1906
393	Tschudy, Jacob B	October 17, 1834	28	Lititz, Pa	November 8, 1866
245	Tschudy, Matthew G	August 10, 1816	45	Lititz, Pa	October 25, 1852
552	Turner, James	April 13, 1860	41	Antigua, W. I	June, 1888
840	Turner, William	September 25, 1905	46	Bethlehem, Pa	January 17, 1910
157	Unger, Frederick	July 2, 1773	44	Philadelphia, Pa	April 2, 1779
134	Utley, Richard	January 7, 1772	52	Salem, N. C	October 9, 1775
621	Van Kirk, Benjamin	June 13, 1867	40	Bethlehem, Pa	December 17, 1909
387	Van Vleck, Charles A	May 5, 1834	39	Newport, R. I	December 21, 1845
163	Van Vleck, Henry	January 4, 1774	51	New York City	January 25, 1785
550	Van Vleck, Henry J	November 30, 1855	37	Nazareth, Pa	December 5, 1906
208	Van Vleck, Jacob	July 5, 1796	45	Bethlehem, Pa	July 3, 1831
292	Van Vleck, William H	August 4, 1822	31	Philadelphia, Pa	January 19, 1853
85	Vetter, Jacob	December 19, 1770	61	Lancaster, Pa	June 13, 1777
522	Vogler, Elias	April 4, 1854	28	Salem, N. C	November 17, 1876

Memb. Certif. No.	Name.	Date Admitted.	Age.	Residence.	Date of Death.
521	Vogler, Nathaniel	March 16, 1854	49	Salem, N. C.	August 18, 1872
800	Vogler, William H.	January 25, 1897	49	Indianapolis, Ind.	
720	Vogler, William T.	January 24, 1878	34	Salem, N. C.	
286	Vognitz, Friederich	April 5, 1822	57	Bethlehem, Pa.	December 13, 1837
643	Walp, Isaac	March 24, 1870	42	Bethlehem, Pa.	June 18, 1879
792	Wantzell, F. W.	December 27, 1895	30	Newfoundland, Pa.	
580	Warman, John F.	September 26, 1864	51	Westfield, N. J.	December 9, 1898
348	Warner, David	September 3, 1829	38	Bethlehem, Pa.	August 27, 1881
330	Warner, John C.	December 4, 1827	41	Bethlehem, Pa.	June 30, 1858
284	Warner, Massah	January 18, 1822	67	Bethlehem, Pa.	May 24, 1824
673	Warner, Massah	July 28, 1873	37	Philadelphia, Pa.	December 22, 1900
69	Weber, Andreas	November 27, 1770	51	Bethlehem, Pa.	May 11, 1784
777	Weber, Ernst	December 19, 1891	26	Alaska	Bet. June 27-30, 1898
363	Weber, John	July 20, 1831	61	Bethlehem, Pa.	July 18, 1849
544	Weber, John C.	January 7, 1858	54	Bethlehem, Pa.	March 24, 1892
478	Wedemann, John F.	July 9, 1846	44	St. John, W. I.	not known.
136	Weinecke, J. Carl S.	January 7, 1772	39	Bethlehem, Pa.	January 22, 1811
492	Weinland, David	May 28, 1849	49	Bethlehem, Pa.	1875
540	Weinland, Edward O.	October 28, 1856	34	Hope, Ind.	189?
610	Weinland, Henry E.	March 14, 1866	35	Bethlehem, Pa.	November 16, 1897
71	Weinland, John Nicholas	November 27, 1770	64	Gnadenthal, Pa.	January 27, 1777
873	Weinland, Joseph E.	December 9, 1912	41	Indianapolis, Ind.	
432	Weinland, Samuel	April 9, 1840	37	Bethlehem, Pa.	February 9, 1881
751	Weinland, William H.	June 11, 1885	25	Bethel, Alaska	
807	Weinlick, Joseph	March 16, 1898	27	Bethel, Alaska	
204	Weiss, George	July 3, 1792	33	Bethlehem, Pa.	August 31, 1811
305	Weiss, Jedediah	June 29, 1824	28	Bethlehem, Pa.	September 3, 1873
203	Weiss, John	July 3, 1792	43	Bethlehem, Pa.	July 4, 1814
114	Weiss, Ludwig	January 2, 1771	53	Philadelphia, Pa.	October 21, 1796
70	Weiss, Matthias	November 27, 1770	61	Bethlehem, Pa.	November 4, 1795
290	Weiss, Paul	July 9, 1822	59	Emmaus, Pa.	October 31, 1840

Memb. Certif. No.	Name.	Date Admitted.	Age.	Residence.	Date of Death.
317	Weiss, Timothy	December 22, 1824	24	Bethlehem, Pa.	August 23, 1848
547	Weitzel, Jacob	October 19, 1859		Green Bay, Wis.	189?
340	Welfare, Daniel C.	April 21, 1829	32	Salem, N. C.	August 30, 1841
497	Weniger, Heinrich	July 6, 1849	49	Bethlehem, Pa.	April 13, 1875
124	Werner, J. William	July 2, 1771	49	Lititz, Pa.	June 24, 1787
568	Wessels, Gerhard	May 5, 1863	34	New York City	April 26, 1898
435	Wied, Henry	September 1, 1840		St. Thomas, W. I.	not known.
72	Wiesinger, J. J.	November 27, 1770	55	Bethlehem, Pa.	August 21, 1790
528	Wilhelm, Benjamin	April 5, 1855	38	Bethlehem, Pa.	July 13, 1870
587	Wilhelm, James H.	January 31, 1865	34	Mauch Chunk, Pa.	
866	Wilbur, Harry	February 1, 1911	44	Bethlehem, Pa.	
843	Wilbur, W. A.	February 16, 1906	46	South Bethlehem, Pa.	
871	Wimmer, Geo. J.	October 11, 1912	48	Nazareth, Pa.	
337	Woehler, Henry	August 11, 1828	38	Bethlehem, Pa.	June 14, 1868
704	Woerner, John	October 30, 1875	40	Bethlehem, Pa.	March 3, 1911
219	Wohlfahrt, Jacob	January 4, 1803	47	Salem, N. C.	August 4, 1807
73	Wohlson, G. Stephen	November 27, 1770	63	Gnadenthal, Pa.	October 17, 1785
759	Wolff, Frank E.	June 8, 1886	40	Alaska	
495	Wolle, Augustus	July 6, 1849	27	Bethlehem, Pa.	August 11, 1878
813	Wolle, Clarence A.	January 23, 1899	49	Bethlehem, Pa.	
454	Wolle, Edwin P.	January 15, 1844	31	Nazareth, Pa.	February 2, 1889
496	Wolle, Francis	July 6, 1849	31	Bethlehem, Pa.	February 10, 1893
268	Wolle, Jacob	May 9, 1819	30	Bethlehem, Pa.	April 17, 1863
570	Wolle, James H.	June 9, 1863	35	Bethlehem, Pa.	June 26, 1875
827	Wolle, J. Fred	July 9, 1901	38	Bethlehem, Pa.	
351	Wolle, John F.	November 10, 1829	44	Bethlehem, Pa.	April 24, 1860
483	Wolle, Nathaniel S.	June 1, 1847	24	Lititz, Pa.	February 11, 1899
412	Wolle, Peter	September 30, 1835	43	Philadelphia, Pa.	November 14, 1871
747	Wolle, Robert N.	August 14, 1884	34	Lititz, Pa.	July 5, 1912
703	Wolle, Samuel C.	August 16, 1875	50	Hokendauqua, Pa.	September 1, 1898
530	Wolle, Sylvester	May 10, 1885	39	Bethlehem, Pa.	August 28, 1873
649	Wolle, Theodore F.	January 2, 1871	39	Bethlehem, Pa.	March 30, 1885

Memb. Certif. No.	Name.	Date Admitted.	Age.	Residence.	Date of Death.
74	Worbasse, Peter	November 27, 1770	48	Bethlehem, Pa.	September 11, 1806
885	Woosley, D. G.	December 17, 1914	43	Escondida, Cal.	
774	Wuensche, Julius	December 13, 1890	58	Hopedale, Pa.	
565	Yost, Herman	April 30, 1862	49	Bethlehem, Pa.	August 9, 1885
475	Yost, Samuel	May 27, 1846	24	Bethlehem, Pa.	July 28, 1905
344	Youngman, Chr. F.	July 14, 1829	37	Bethlehem, Pa.	December 5, 1869
103	Zahm, J. Michael	December 19, 1770	52	Bethlehem, Pa.	December 30, 1787
369	Zetzsche, Godfrey H.	June 29, 1832	45	Tobago, W. I.	June 5, 1861
467	Ziock, Adolph Herman	August 23, 1845	38	St. Croix, W. I.	November 15, 1872
431	Zippel, John G.	August 23, 1839		Barbadoes, W. I.	October 7, 1859
334	Zorn, Jacob	June 19, 1828	24	Bethlehem, Pa.	May 27, 1843
632	Zorn, J. Theophilus	July 7, 1868	27	Jamaica, W. I.	
826	Zucher, Ernst Paul	April 6, 1901	42	Carmel, Alaska	

IV.

STATEMENTS CONCERNING PERSONS ADMITTED AS MEMBERS AT THE AGE OF SIXTY OR OVER.

Sixty-two persons were admitted as members of the Widows' Society at ages ranging from 60 to 76 years.

Of those admitted at 60—one lived 2 years; one, 5 years; one, 9 years; one, 10 years; one, 12 years; one, 13 years; three, 22 years; one, 26 years; total, 10 persons.

At 61—one lived 3 years; two, 7 years; one, 10 years; one, 12 years; two, 14 years; one, 18 years; one, 21 years; one, 25 years; total, 10 persons.

At 62—one lived 2 years; one, 5 years; one, 6 years; one, 7 years; one, 9 years; total, 5 persons.

At 63—one lived 1 year; one, 2 years; two, 15 years; one, 21 years; one, 23 years; one, 27 years; total, 7 persons.

At 64—one lived 1 year; one, 2 years; two, 5 years; one, 6 years; one, 7 years; one, 8 years; one, 26 years; total, 8 persons.

At 65—one lived 11 years; one, 13 years; one, 17 years; total, 3 persons.

At 66—one lived 7 years; one, 14 years; one, 15 years; one, 21 years; total, 4 persons.

At 67—one lived 2 years.

At 68—two lived 7 years; one, 8 years; total, 3 persons.

At 69—one lived 1 year; one, 9 years; one, 10 years; one, 12 years; total, 4 persons.

At 70—two lived 10 years; one, 14 years; one, 15 years; total, 4 persons.

At 71—one lived 12 years.

At 72—one lived 12 years.

At 76—one lived 4 years.

V.

LIST OF MEMBERS WHO DIED WITHIN TWO YEARS AFTER JOINING THE SOCIETY.

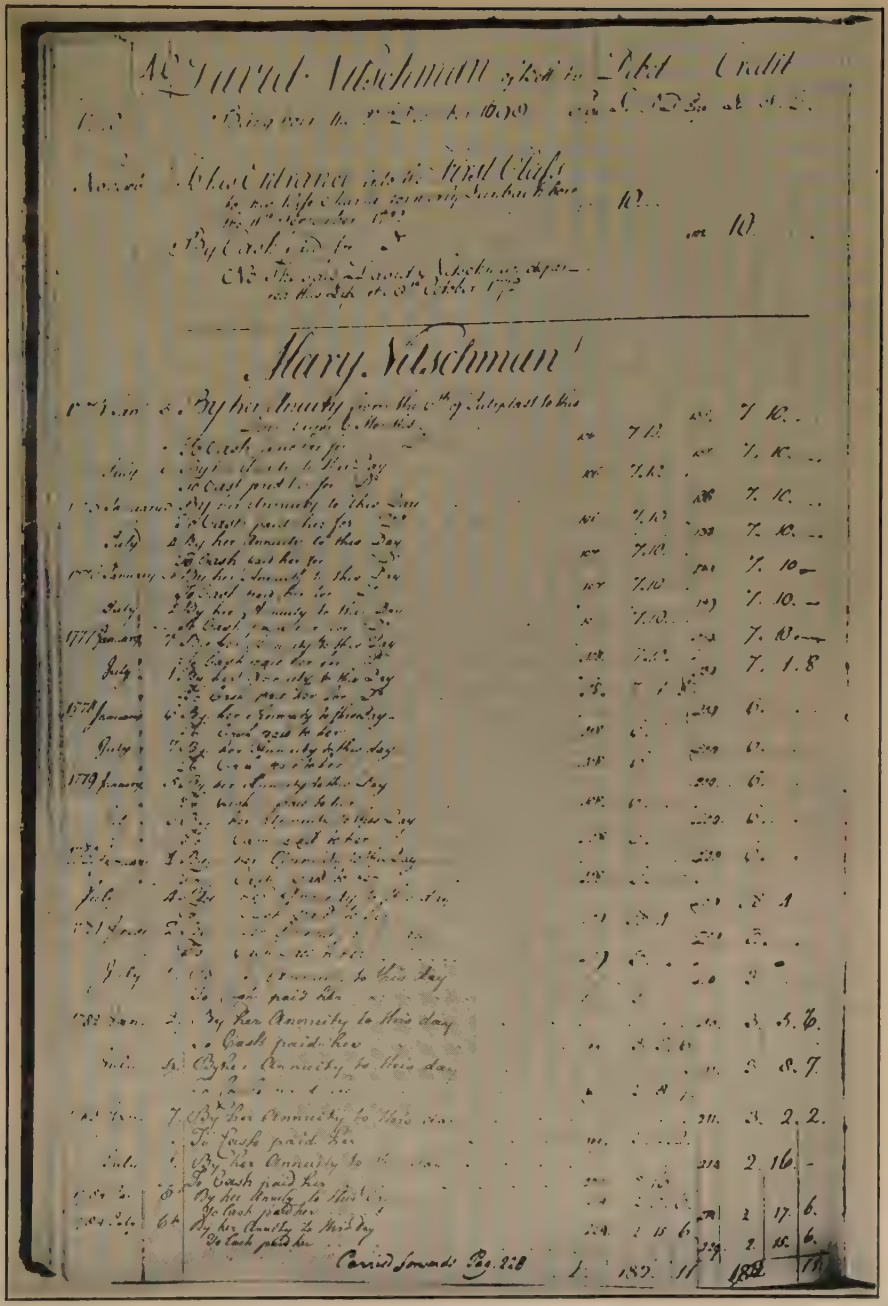
The following twenty-three members departed within two years after admission to membership.

Name.	Residence.	Joined.	Died.
Bartow, Thomas	Philadelphia, Pa.	July 3, 1792	Jan. 26, 1793
Berndt, Gottlieb	Nazareth, Pa.	Dec. 27, 1770	Mar. 16, 1772
Cooper, George J.	Lancaster, Pa.	Aug. 1, 1844	Sept. 10, 1845
Goetz, Philip J.	St. Johns, W. I.	Sept. 2, 1825	July 25, 1827
Gump, George	Yorktown, Pa.	Dec. 19, 1790	Sept. 7, 1792
Henry, J. Joseph	Boulton, Pa.	May 23, 1836	Dec. 2, 1836
Hermany, William S.	Bethlehem, Pa.	Jan. 19, 1914	Nov. 7, 1914
Horsfield, Timothy	Bethlehem, Pa.	Jan. 7, 1772	Mar. 9, 1773
Hoyler, Jacob	Watertown, Wis.	Feb. 25, 1890	May 22, 1890
Nitschmann, David	Bethlehem, Pa.	Nov. 27, 1770	Oct. 8, 1772
Poppellwell, Richard	Bethlehem, Pa.	Nov. 27, 1770	Nov. 11, 1771
Schmidt, Johannes	Niesky, W. I.	Oct. 22, 1833	Nov. 23, 1834
Schnall, Johannes	Bethlehem, Pa.	Oct. 10, 1818	Sept. 7, 1819
Schneider, George	Nain, Pa.	Jan. 7, 1773	Oct. 7, 1773
Schrader, Julius	Bethlehem, Pa.	May 22, 1871	Aug. 4, 1871
Schroeter, Carl	Lititz, Pa.	Jan. 20, 1820	Mar. 25, 1821
Senseman, Edwin T.	Hope, Ind.	Dec. 21, 1865	Feb. 8, 1866
Siewers, Henry Frank	St. Croix, W. I.	Jan. 1, 1822	1824
Sneckenburg, John T.	Bethlehem, Pa.	July 3, 1828	May 3, 1829
Snyder, John D.	Bethlehem, Pa.	Feb. 4, 1891	May 5, 1892
Torgesen, Hans	Moraviantown, Canada	June 11, 1885	Aug. 10, 1885
Traeger, Gabriel	Bethlehem, Pa.	Apr. 1, 1837	June 7, 1839
Warner, Massah	Bethlehem, Pa.	Jan. 18, 1822	May 24, 1824

VI.

BENEFICIARIES OF THE WIDOWS' SOCIETY FROM THE TIME OF ORGANIZATION, 1771 TO 1915, SHOWING THE NUMBER OF YEARS EACH WIDOW SHARED IN THE DIVIDENDS OF THE SOCIETY.

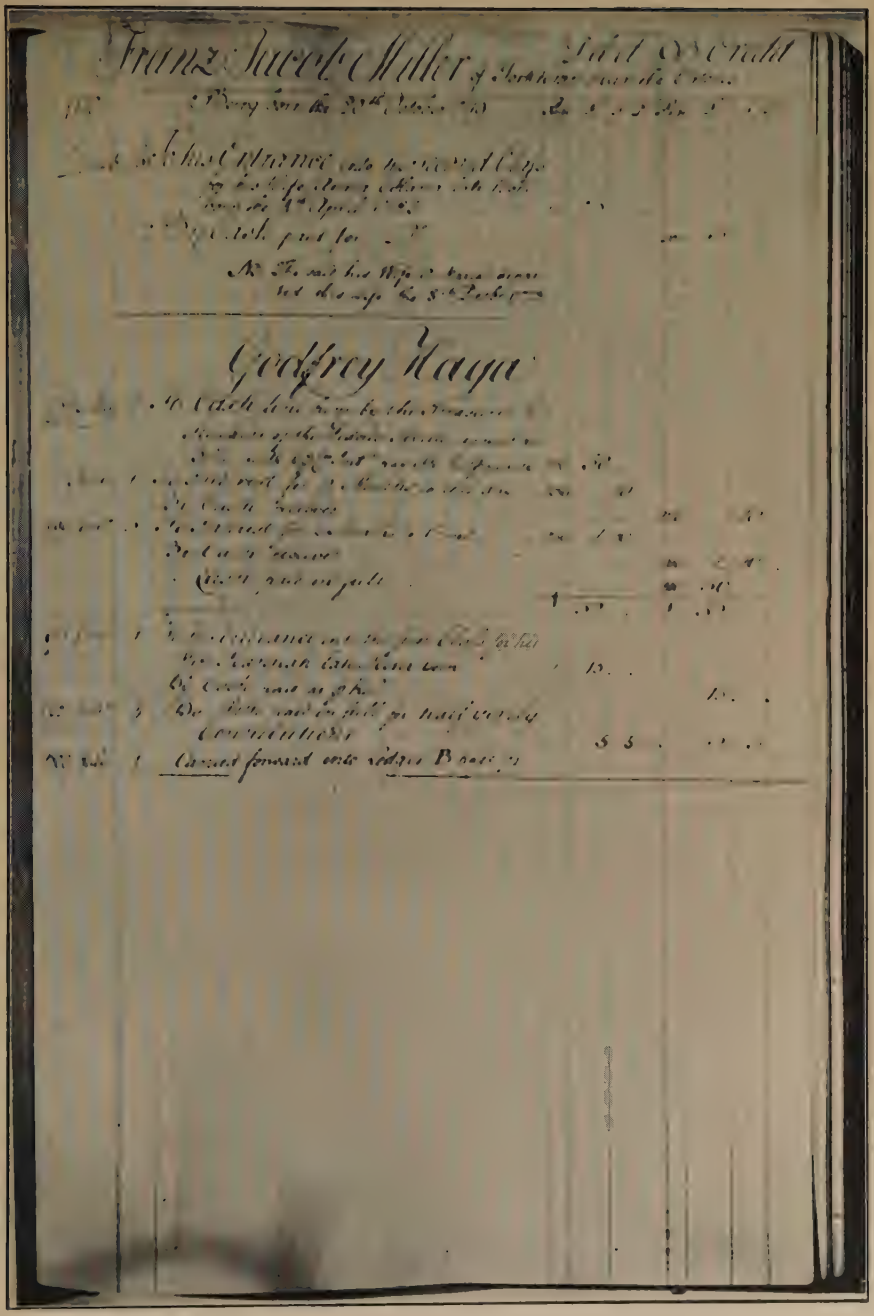
NAME.	YEARS.		NAME.	YEARS.	
Albrecht, Elizabeth	1802-1832	30	Borhek, Anna M.	1791-1807	16
Albrecht, Elizabeth	1888-1890	2	Borhek, Harriet	1890-1896	6
Amer, Elizabeth	1899-1905	6	Borhek, Louisa	1898-1911	13
Anders, Theresia	1848-1849	1	Borhek, Maria	1828-1868	40
Andreas, Eleanora	1803-1804	1	Breder, Augusta	1913-	
Andress, Elizabeth	1873-1904	31	Bricker, Anna B.	1906-	
Bachhof, Rosina	1777-1780	3	Bricker, Emma H.	1905-	
Bachman, Mary Ann	1871-1907	36	Brown, Dorothea M.	1854-1870	16
Bachman, Sarah E.	1897-		Brown, Phoebe A.	1865-1897	32
Bachman, Susanna	1838-1865	27	Buchner, Brigitta	1865-1880	15
Bahnson, Louisa	1870-1886	16	Busse, Mary C.	1871-1882	11
Bardill, Catherine	1859-1868	9	Butner, Lucy A.	1912-	
Barrow, Hannah A.	1900-		Christ, Anna Juliana	1828-1859	31
Bartow, Sarah	1793-1818	25	Christ, Emma	1897-1905	8
Bealer, Juliana	1870-1894	24	Christ, Fredericka M.	1805-1811	6
Beam, Susan	1873-1894	21	Christ, Justina	1862-1862	
Bechler, Theodora	1875-1913	38	Christ, Mary Barbara	1806-1818	12
Beck, Johanna Augusta	1873-1877	4	Christ, Sally	1845-1865	20
Beck, Lydia	1902-		Christ, Sarah	1883-1894	11
Beck, Sybilla	1783-1805	22	Christ, Sarah L.	1868-1895	27
Beckel, Charlotte	1880-1884	4	Clauder, Charlotte	1880-1883	3
Beear, Theodora	1837-1856	19	Clauder, Emma J.	1915-	
Beitel, Elizabeth Ann	1869-1878	9	Clauder, Laura E. B.	1875-1904	29
Beitel, Rosina	1848-1850	2	Clewell, Mary Ann	1871-1880	9
Belling, Helen	1880-1891	11	Clewell, Sarah	1904-	
Belling, Seraphina	1902-1903	1	Coelin, Elizabeth	1806-1806	
Benzien, Charity	1833-1863	30	Collins, Mary Ann	1838-1861	23
Benzien, Dorothy S.	1812-1832	20	Cooper, Eliza	1845-1897	52
Berndt, Susanna C.	1772-1776	4	Cunow, Benigna	1830-1836	6
Bievighausen, Christ'a	1807-1836	29	Daily, Augusta	1877-1882	5
Bigler, Elizabeth	1875-		Damus, Sophia M.	1838-1870	32
Bischoff, Rosina	1828-1832	4	Dealing, Magdalena	1786-1807	21
Bishop, Caroline E.	1910-		Dencke, Elizabeth	1795-1820	25
Bishop, Dorothea	1854-1892	38	Denke, Maria	1838-1868	30
Bishop, Lisetta	1860-1870	10	Detmers, Chr. D.	1802-1814	12
Bishop, Naomi	1888-		Diehms, Sophia	1882-1892	10
Bishop, Sarah E.	1874-1890	16	Digeon, Mary	1777-1793	16
Bleck, Mary	1850-1851	1	Doster, Pauline	1860-1879	19
Blickensderfer, Elvina	1896-1904	8	Ears, Margaret	1777-1779	2
Blickensderfer, Fiana	1899-		Ebbecke, Salome	1838-1862	24
Blickensderfer, L. C.	1856-1880	24	Eberman, Anna E.	1857-1880	23
Blum, Catherine M.	1813-1827	14	Eder, Elizabeth	1837-1838	1
Blum, Elizabeth M.	1803-1817	14	Eggert, Anna M.	1828-1832	4
Boeckel, Anna B.	1816-1823	7	Eggert, Maria	1832-1854	22
Boeckel, Barbara	1781-1781		Eggert, Maria	1860-1882	22
Boehler, Anna	1806-1809	3	Eggert, M. Apollona	1780-1810	30
Boehler, A. Cath.	1806-1810	4	Engler, Mary E.	1776-1777	1
Boehnhof, Johanna	1849-1872	23	Erd, Patience von	1794-1820	26
Bonn, Anna Maria	1782-1815	33	Erdman, A. M.	1878-1891	13



Specimen page from the Ledger of the Widows' Society.
(Reduced one-third.)

Name.	Years.		Name.	Years.	
Erwin, Mary S.	1885-1909	24	Hartman, Adelaide.	1894-	
Erwin, Sophia Louisa.	1883-1883		Hartman, Elizabeth.	1839-1863	24
Esterlein, Elizabeth.	1800-1805	5	Hartman, Mrs. Mary.	1906-	
Eyerle, Anna M.	1800-1805	5	Hasse, Anna M.	1797-1813	16
Fett, Adeline.	1881-1908	27	Hastings, Mrs. L. W.	1890-1895	5
Fetter, Ann Eliza.	1855-1886	31	Hauck, Bridget.	1892-1903	11
Fetter, Christina.	1876-1886	10	Hauser, Elizabeth.	1812-1814	2
Fetter, Elizabeth.	1827-1855	28	Hayne, A. Regina.	1781-1783	2
Fischer, Agnes.	1784-1788	4	Heckedorn, Barbara.	1789-1793	4
Fluck, Lizzie.	1902-		Heckewelder, Ann M.	1803-1823	20
Fockel, Mary.	1779-1779		Hencke, Anna C.	1785-1806	21
Fogle, Antoinette.	1892-1900	8	Henry, Anna.	1787-1799	12
Fogle, Emma.	1898-		Henry, Mary.	1837-1871	34
Fradeneck, Emma C.	1898-		Henry, Sabina.	1821-1848	27
Frank, Maria.	1787-1804	17	Hepp, Martha G.	1906-	
Freytag, Antonie.	1851-1876	25	Herbst, Mary E.	1896-	
Freytag, Salome.	1846-1861	15	Herman, Pauline.	1854-1869	15
Friebele, M. A.	1886-		Hermany, Mrs. Wm. S.	1915-	
Fries, Lisetta.	1863-1903	40	Herr, Anna.	1773-1774	1
Fuehrer, Elizabeth.	1886-1890	4	Hillman, Elizabeth.	1852-1870	18
Fuehrer, Rosina.	1849-1850	1	Hoch, Frances.	1870-	
Frueauff, A. Clara.	1879-1897	18	Hoeber, Johanna.	1831-1843	12
Frueauff, Anna D.	1886-		Hoeber, Sarah.	1911-	
Fry, Anna M.	1899-		Hohe, Maria B.	1846-1877	31
Gambold, Helena.	1789-1792	3	Holland, Augusta.	1894-1895	1
Gapp, Anna.	1894-		Horsfield, Elizabeth.	1835-1836	1
Garrison, Mary Anne.	1782-1790	8	Horsfield, Juliana.	1789-1809	20
Gerlach, Louisa.	1892-1895	3	Horsfield, Mary.	1773-1773	
Giering, Caroline.	1874-		Horsfield, Rebecca.	1845-1845	
Giers, Elizabeth.	1797-1817	20	Horsfield, Sarah.	1802-1822	20
Goetz, Verona.	1828-1855	27	Hoyler, Emilie.	1890-	
Gold, Sarah.	1860-1891	31	Huber, Anna Maria.	1790-1794	4
Goth, Ellen.	1878-1881	3	Huebner, Justina.	1870-1884	14
Goundie, Charlotte.	1877-1888	11	Huebner, Louisa.	1874-1904	30
Goundie, C. Elizabeth.	1852-1853	1	Huebner, Martha.	1884-1915	31
Graeff, Theodora L.	1893-1898	5	Huebner, Mary.	1910-	
Graff, Catharine.	1777-1798	21	Huebner, Rosina.	1831-1860	29
Graff, Gertrude.	1783-1784	1	Huebner, Sarah.	1849-1867	18
Greider, Emma.	1898-		Hueffel, Maria.	1842-1858	16
Greider, Mrs. E. P.	1904-1915	11	Hussey, Martha.	1776-1790	14
Grider, Julia.	1858-1877	19	Israel, Caroline.	1900-	
Grosh, Mrs. Samuel.	1902-1915	13	Jacobson, Augusta.	1896-	
Grunert, Martha.	1887-1901	14	Jacobson, Lisetta.	1871-1883	12
Guetter, Frederica.	1847-1883	36	Jacobson, Mrs. H. A.	1911-	
Gump, Salome.	1793-1793		Jansen, Magdalena.	1791-1796	5
Haberland, Anna H.	1782-1787	5	Jones, Maria.	1825-1831	6
Hafner, Anna Magd.	1773-1797	24	Jones, Mary Agnes.	1881-1886	5
Hagen, Susan.	1844-1853	9	Jordan, Emily.	1885-1889	4
Haidt, Catharine.	1780-1782	2	Jundt, Anna S.	1832-1855	23
Hall, Anna Mary.	1784-1785	1	Kampmann, Anna M.	1833-1836	3
Hall, Catharine.	1848-1855	7	Kampmann, Maria.	1884-1898	14
Ham, Maria L.	1849-1872	33	Kaucher, Aurelia.	1854-1863	9
Haman, Rebecca.	1856-1873	17	Keller, Maria.	1853-1884	31
Haman, Sarah.	1866-1876	10	Kern, Elizabeth.	1842-1868	26
Hambright, Caroline.	1893-1910	17	Kern, Sarah.	1874-1891	17
Hamilton, Emma.	1886-1905	19	Kleckner, Caroline.	1879-1893	14
Hammann, Adelaide.	1893-		Klingsohr, A. Elizabeth.	1799-1835	36

Name.	Years.		
Klose, Maria	1856-1859	3
Kluge, Agnes	1880-1887	7
Kluge, Annie L.	1912-1914	2
Kluge, Rebecca	1861-1884	23
Knauss, Arabella	1888-1900	12
Knauss, Caroline	1872-1876	4
Knauss, Johanna	1823-1831	8
Knauss, Mary	1848-1855	7
Knauss, Matilda	1860-1871	11
Kornmann, Anne M.	1806-1809	3
Kramsch, Susanna E.	1824-1831	7
Krause, Adelaide A.	1865-1867	2
Krause, Anna Maria	1901-1904	3
Krause, Catherine	1792-1807	15
Krause, Elizabeth	1875-1877	2
Krause, Emma A.	1899-	
Krause, Hortensia V.	1866-1902	36
Krause, Jane E.	1904-	
Kreider, Jemima	1868-1891	23
Kreider, Josephine	1895-1897	2
Kremser, A. Sybilla	1824-1849	25
Kryder, Henrietta	1853-1872	19
Kryder, Sarah L.	1892-	
Kummer, Letitia	1913-	
Kummer, Maria	1857-1863	6
Kunkler, Anna Maria	1778-1784	6
Kunkler, Margaret	1839-1842	3
Langball, Salome	1826-1829	3
Lange, Anna Mary	1792-1800	8
Lange, Esther	1866-1888	22
Lange, Sarah	1837-1848	11
Langgard, Elizabeth	1777-1785	8
Lanius, Sarah	1897-	
Lehman, Angelica	1857-1883	26
Lehnert, Susanna	1826-1846	20
Leibert, Lydia	1863-1900	37
Leibfried, Harriet	1880-1904	24
Leinbach, Sarah A.	1892-1901	9
Lelansky, Christiana	1894-	
Lembke, Margaret C.	1786-1798	12
Lennert, Susetta	1893-1898	5
Leoser, Ethel	1909-	
Levering, Anna C.	1835-1849	14
Levering, Martha A.	1908-	
Lichtenthaeler, Ch.	1892-1895	3
Lichtenthaeler, El.	1834-1858	24
Lichtenthaeler, Ern.	1855-1866	11
Lischer, Mary Cath.	1782-1802	20
L'Jungberg, Sarah	1809-1820	11
Loeffler, Caroline	1841-1849	8
Loesch, Anna	1783-1817	34
Loesch, Maria J.	1791-1813	22
Luch, Agnes	1831-1843	12
Luckenbach, Caroline	1880-1905	25
Luckenbach, Cath.	1898-1908	10
Luckenbach, Elizab.	1850-1867	17
Luckenbach, Helen C.	1884-	
Luckenbach, Ida	1897-	
Luckenbach, Josephine	1871-1909	38
Luckenbach, (Polly) Mary	1888-1891	3
Luckenbach, Matilda	1882-1884	2
Luckenbach, Rosina	1854-1862	8
Luckenbach, Susana	1852-1867	15
Lueders, Elizabeth	1870-1874	4
Magdalene, The Moore	1779-1820	41
Malthaner, Cath.	1873-1879	6
Martin, Lucinda R.	1888-1907	19
Masslich, Catharine	1875-1881	6
Mau, Catharine	1784-1799	15
Mehr, Elizabeth	1852-1854	2
Meinung, A. C.	1908-1914	6
Meinung, Johanna	1852-1859	7
Meller, Caroline	1870-1894	24
Meller, Joh. Anna	1859-1867	8
Meyer, Dorothea	1801-1803	2
Meyer, Mary Just	1782-1787	5
Meyers, Louisa M.	1885-1905	20
Meyers, Sarah A.	1873-1891	18
Michel, Maria	1876-1894	18
Michler, Anna Maria	1785-1786	1
Michler, Maria	1785-1796	11
Miller, Anna J.	1821-1830	9
Miller, Anna Maria	1780-1789	9
Miller, Mary	1865-1872	7
Moehring, Christine	1804-1823	19
Moehring, Elizabeth	1797-1825	28
Moeller, Catharine	1778-1797	19
Mortimer, Bethia	1835-1848	13
Muecke, Amelia	1840-1884	44
Mueller, Bertha	1895-1901	6
Muenster, Barbara	1793-1829	36
Neisser, Frances	1859-1867	8
Neisser, Rosina	1793-1797	4
Neisser, Sarah Ann	1888-1889	1
Neisser, Theodora	1785-1807	22
Niebert, Hannah M.	1895-	
Nitschmann, Mary B.	1773-1810	37
Nixdorf, Susanna	1786-1800	14
Oehler, Olivia	1897-1909	12
Oerter, A. Elizabeth	1866-1879	13
Oerter, Magdalena	1864-1913	49
Oerter, Sophia	1883-1887	4
Oppelt, Eliza	1842-1850	8
Otto, Judith	1780-1786	6
Payne, Phoebe	1780-1799	19
Peter, A. Catharine	1814-1856	42
Peter, Anna Maria	1791-1801	10
Peter, Elizabeth	1794-1806	12
Peterson, Martha	1906-1907	1
Peterson, Rachel	1825-1839	14
Pfohl, Ann Eliza	1874-1876	2
Pfohl, Anna Susanna	1871-1872	1
Pfohl, Elizabeth	1838-1850	12



Specimen page from the Ledger of the Widows' Society.
(Reduced one-third.)

NAME.	YEARS.		NAME.	YEARS.	
Pfohl, Margaret S.	1909-		Schmidt, Dorothea.	1786-1790	4
Pitschman, Mary E.	1789-1790	1	Schneider, Gertrude.	1774-1803	29
Plessing, Fredericka.	1885-1886	1	Schnall, Margaret.	1820-1848	28
Poppellwell, Elizabeth.	1772-1812	40	Schneckenburg, A. M.	1795-1834	39
Rau, Lucian.	1910-1913	3	Schneckenburg, Rach.	1829-1856	27
Rau, Sarah.	1879-1895	16	Schneider, Catharine.	1826-1846	20
Rauch, Augusta.	1879-1901	22	Schnell, Helena.	1783-1794	11
Rauch, Christine.	1797-1807	10	Schneller, Catharine.	1843-1857	14
Rauch, Cornelia.	1887-1905	18	Schober, Anna.	1846-1868	22
Rauch, Lisetta.	1863-1867	4	Schober, Hannah R.	1793-1806	13
Rauch, Louisa Fr.	1886-1894	8	Schollfield, Elizabeth.	1846-1866	20
Rauch, Mary Ann.	1884-1898	14	Schrader, Sarah A.	1871-1872	1
Regennas, Cornelia.	1884-1912	28	Schroeder, A. Cath.	1821-1834	13
Regennas, Mrs. H. J.	1909-		Schropp, Cornelia.	1841-1893	52
Reichel, Charlotte.	1877-1890	13	Schropp, Elizabeth.	1806-1819	13
Reichel, Mary.	1834-1855	21	Schropp, Rebecca.	1827-1828	1
Reichel, Mary.	1878-1907	29	Schultz, Elizabeth.	1885-1896	11
Reinke, Charlotte.	1894-1896	2	Schultz, Mary.	1850-1885	35
Reinke, Sarah J.	1833-1852	19	Schulz, Christine.	1857-1862	5
Reizenbach, M. E.	1803-1809	6	Schulz, Susanna.	1830-1839	9
Reuter, Anna Cath.	1776-1780	4	Schulze, Maria.	1780-1783	3
Rice, Salome A.	1832-1857	25	Schuster, Elizabeth.	1832-1853	21
Rice, Caroline.	1869-1890	21	Schwarze, Lydia.	1905-	
Rice, Josephine.	1851-1885	34	Schweinitz, A. D. E. von.	1802-1813	11
Rice, Julia.	1849-1873	24	Schweinitz, Isabel de.	1887-	
Rice, Lydia.	1833-1884	51	Schweinitz, L. Amelia von.	1834-1858	24
Rice, Mrs. Joseph A.	1909-		Schweinitz, Sophia A. de.	1879-1883	4
Rice, Mrs. Wm. Hy.	1911-		Schweishaupt, A. M.	1809-1810	1
Rickert, E. C.	1894-1903	9	Seidel, Anna Johanna.	1782-1788	6
Rickert, Juliet.	1850-1862	12	Senseman, Anna E.	1835-1857	22
Ricksecker, Anna.	1778-1786	8	Senseman, Sarah.	1866-1875	9
Ricksecker, Charlotte.	1888-1892	4	Shaffner, Caroline F.	1908-	
Ricksecker, Olivia.	1888-1905	17	Shields, Maria.	1890-	
Rights, Elizabeth.	1891-1894	3	Shields, Charlotte.	1905-	
Ritter, Louisa R.	1890-1898	8	Siegmund, Henrietta.	1884-1902	18
Ritter, Mary L.	1860-1870	10	Siewers, Anna R.	1882-1894	12
Roepper, Belinda.	1880-1893	13	Siewers, Dorothy.	1825-1855	30
Roessler, Marianna.	1776-1804	28	Siewers, Eleanore.	1901-	
Romig, Maria E.	1903-1906	3	Siewers, Hannah.	1890-1912	22
Rondthaler, Christine.	1847-1854	7	Siewers, Matilda A.	1867-1900	33
Rondthaler, Maria.	1849-1893	44	Smith, Emma A.	1884-1908	24
Rothe, Maria.	1792-1805	13	Smith, Maria.	1847-1866	19
Rubel, Catharine.	1814-1815	1	Smith, Sarah.	1806-1823	17
Rudolph, Elizabeth.	1825-1868	43	Snyder, Sabilla.	1892-1902	10
Ruede, Maria.	1888-1896	8	Souders, Ellen Soph.	1887-1910	23
Rusmeyer, Maria.	1798-1804	6	Sparmeyer, Elizabeth.	1846-1864	18
Sauter, Maria.	1826-1863	37	Spohn, Lucia.	1782-1788	6
Schaaf, Maria.	1842-1845	3	Stach, Rosina.	1788-1800	12
Schaffer, Emilia.	1877-1888	11	Stadiger, Sophia.	1866-1899	33
Schank, Elizabeth.	1790-1793	3	Stadiger, Susanna.	1850-1850	
Schaub, Lydia.	1881-1901	20	Stadiger, Mary.	1852-1878	26
Schenck, Anna Maria.	1777-1783	6	Starbuck, Ellen.	1887-	
Schindler, Magdalena.	1809-1825	16	Staude, Dorothea.	1852-1868	16
Schlosser, Marg.	1792-1795	3	Stauffer, Agnes.	1896-	
Schmick, Johanna.	1778-1795	17	Stoehr, Anna Maria.	1782-1804	22
Schmid, Mary M.	1834-1834				
Schmidt, Beata.	1793-1814	21			

Name.		Years.
Stoll, Rosina	1801-1811	10
Stotz, Elizabeth	1821-1826	5
Stout, Mrs. R. Paul	1915-	
Stoz, Catharine	1783-1786	3
Strohle, Catharine	1828-1852	24
Sturgis, Susan	1845-1873	28
Suess, Magdalena	1835-1845	10
Sweisshaupt, Rosina	1843-1843	
Sydrich, Gertrude	1790-1812	22
Thaeler, Maria L.	1901-	
Thomas, Barbara	1815-1815	
Thorpe, Grace	1798-1805	7
Thraen, Eliza	1874-1874	
Thraene, Anna Maria	1777-1783	6
Tiersch, Maria	1775-1780	5
Titze, Emily	1886-1899	13
Tombler, Clementine	1888-	
Tombler, Mina Shaw	1905-1909	4
Torgeson, Christine	1885-	
Traeger, Cornelia M.	1905-	
Traeger, Elizabeth	1824-1848	24
Traeger, Lucinda	1839-1890	51
Transue, Sarah	1897-1899	2
Troeger, Eliza	1875-1893	18
Tschudy, Catharine	1853-1865	12
Tschudy, Caroline	1866-1873	7
Turner, Rachel	1886-1897	11
Turner, Wm. Mrs.	1910-	
Unger, Anna	1780-1785	5
Utley, Sarah	1776-1791	15
Van Vleck, Christine	1845-1877	32
Van Vleck, Elizabeth	1853-1865	12
Vetter, Christina	1778-1791	3
Vogenitz, Susanna	1838-1864	26
Vogler, Emma A.	1876-1883	7
Vogler, Mary A.	1872-1889	17
Walp, Caroline	1879-1899	20
Warman, Angelica W.	1898-1904	6
Warner, Celestine	1900-	
Warner, Esther	1881-1882	1
Warner, Dorothea	1824-1826	2
Weber, Elizabeth	1850-1851	1
Weber, Maria A.	1784-1808	24
Wedeman, Maria	1882-1891	9
Weinecke, Johanna	1811-1816	5
Weinland, Anna R.	1875-1889	14
Weinland, Phillipine	1777-1790	13
Weinland, Sarah A.	1898-1915	17
Weisinger, Barbara	1791-1804	13
Weiss, Anna	1841-1844	3
Weiss, Anna Maria	1814-1824	10
Weiss, Elizabeth	1812-1844	32
Weiss, Lydia	1849-1889	40
Weiss, Mary	1797-1803	6
Weitzell, Lisetta M.	1899-1908	9
Welfare, Catharine	1842-1890	48
Weniger, Christiana	1875-1906	31
Werner, A. Maria	1787-1825	38
Wessels, Emily E.	1798-1909	11
Woehler, Augusta	1868-1871	3
Wohlfart, Elizabeth	1808-1812	4
Wolle, Adelaide	1885-	
Wolle, Alice	1912-	
Wolle, Amelia	1875-1898	23
Wolle, Angelica	1899-1907	8
Wolle, Caroline	1873-1876	3
Wolle, Cornelia	1878-1912	34
Wolle, Eliza	1863-1867	4
Wolle, Elizabeth C.	1893-1906	13
Wolle, Louisa	1889-1901	12
Wolle, Phoebe	1898-	
Yost, Salome	1885-1890	5
Youngman, Rebecca	1869-1875	6
Zahm, Regina	1788-1790	2
Ziock, C. L.	1872-1875	3
Zippel, Maria Sophia	1859-1862	3
Zorn, Caroline	1843-1863	20

Summary.

Twenty-eight widows participated in dividends 1 year; twenty, 2 years; thirty, 3 years; twenty-six, 4 years; nineteen, 5 years; twenty-five, 6 years; thirteen, 7 years; eighteen, 8 years; sixteen, 9 years; seventeen, 10 years; seventeen, 11 years; seventeen, 12 years; seventeen, 13 years; fifteen, 14 years; ten, 15 years; thirteen, 16 years; fifteen, 17 years; nine, 18 years; fourteen, 19 years; fifteen, 20 years; thirteen, 21 years; thirteen, 22 years; nine, 23 years; fifteen, 24 years; eight, 25 years; five, 26 years; eight, 27 years; eight, 28 years; seven, 29 years; eight, 30 years; eight, 31 years; four, 32 years; four, 33 years; four, 34 years; one, 35 years; five, 36 years; three, 37 years; three, 38 years; one, 39 years; five, 40 years; two, 41 years; one, 42 years; one, 43 years; two, 44 years; one, 45 years; one, 48 years; one, 49 years; two, 51 years; two, 52 years; fourteen died in the same year. Total beneficiaries, 513.

VII.

NUMBER OF MEMBERS ADMITTED PER YEAR, 1771-1915.

1771.....14	1801..... 2	1831..... 4	1861..... 4	1891..... 5
1772.....23	1802..... 0	1832.....11	1862..... 2	1892..... 0
1773.....12	1803..... 1	1833..... 8	1863..... 8	1893..... 4
1774..... 8	1804..... 1	1834.....14	1864..... 7	1894..... 2
1775..... 7	1805..... 4	1835.....13	1865.....24	1895..... 8
1776..... 6	1806..... 0	1836..... 2	1866.....13	1896..... 5
1777..... 3	1807..... 0	1837..... 3	1867.....10	1897..... 6
1778..... 2	1808..... 0	1838..... 6	1868..... 8	1898..... 7
1779..... 2	1809..... 0	1839..... 6	1869..... 4	1899..... 4
1780..... 0	1810..... 0	1840..... 6	1870..... 9	1900..... 8
1781..... 1	1811..... 1	1841..... 3	1871.....14	1901..... 5
1782..... 4	1812..... 3	1842..... 8	1872..... 3	1902..... 6
1783..... 0	1813..... 3	1843..... 5	1873.....11	1903..... 3
1784..... 0	1814..... 1	1844.....11	1874.....18	1904..... 1
1785..... 0	1815..... 1	1845..... 7	1875.....11	1905..... 4
1786..... 0	1816.....17	1846.....10	1876..... 5	1906..... 4
1787..... 0	1817..... 4	1847..... 5	1877..... 9	1907..... 2
1788..... 0	1818.....11	1848..... 3	1878..... 2	1908..... 1
1789..... 1	1819..... 8	1849.....13	1879..... 6	1909.....10
1790..... 1	1820..... 8	1850..... 9	1880..... 4	1910..... 2
1791..... 2	1821..... 0	1851..... 2	1881..... 2	1911..... 8
1792.....10	1822.....12	1852..... 0	1882..... 1	1912..... 7
1793..... 0	1823..... 6	1853..... 7	1883..... 8	1913..... 3
1794..... 0	1824.....18	1854..... 7	1884..... 7	1914..... 9
1795..... 0	1825..... 2	1855..... 6	1885..... 6	1915..... 1
1796..... 3	1826..... 7	1856..... 8	1886..... 6	
1797..... 7	1827..... 4	1857..... 2	1887..... 1	
1798..... 0	1828..... 7	1858..... 3	1888..... 1	
1799..... 0	1829.....16	1859..... 4	1889..... 2	
1800..... 0	1830..... 6	1860..... 9	1890..... 9	
106	143	195	215	115

Recapitulation.

1770—Original members	110
1771-1800	106
1801-1830	143
1831-1860	195
1861-1890	215
1891-1915	115
Total	884

VIII.

OFFICERS OF THE WIDOWS' SOCIETY.

According to the records, the officers of the Society elected to direct its affairs consisted, during the period 1771-1818, of a Secretary-Treasurer and six Stewards. From 1818—the date of the incorporation of the Society—onward the officers charged with the management of the Society's interests were a President, a Secretary, a Treasurer and six Directors. In the following list the grouping of the officers shows succession of individuals as well as the length of service of each officer.

A.

Officers, 1771-1818.

Treasurer and Secretary.

	Years.		Years.
Chr. Fr. Oerter.....1771-1774	3	Christian Heckewelder.1790-1794	4
J. Francis Oberlin.....1774-1782	8	John Schropp.....1794-1805	11
J. Chr. Hasse.....1782-1783	1	John Fr. Peter.....1805-1813	7½
Henry Lindenmeyer....1783-1790	7	Matthew Eggert.....1813-1818	5½

Stewards.

First.

John Ettwein.....1771-1782	11	Jacob Van Vleck.....1798-1802	4
Jacob Weisinger.....1782-1791	9	Tobias Boeckel.....1802-1816	14
Tobias Boeckel.....1791-1798	7	Owen Rice.....1816-1818	2

Second.

Ferd. Detmers.....1771-1781	10	Matthew Eggert.....1805-1813	8½
Abraham Andreas.....1781-1803	21	Joseph Leibert.....1813-1816	3½
J. L'Jungberg (Naz'h).1803-1805	2	Christian Eggert.....1816-1818	2

Third.

Matthias Weiss.....1771-1791	20	David Bischoff.....1813-1818	5
Henry Lindenmeyer....1791-1813	22		

Fourth.

J. Francis Oberlin.....1771-1774	3	William Henry (Naz.).1797-1800	3
Timothy Horsfield.....1774-1789	15	J. L'Jungberg.....1800-1802	2
Gottlieb Lange.....1789-1791	2	William Henry.....1802-1805	3
Carl S. Weinicke.....1791-1794	3	J. L'Jungberg.....1805-1809	4
Joseph Horsfield.....1794-1795	1	Samuel Steup.....1809-1817	8
Frederick Beutel.....1795-1797	2	John G. Cunow.....1817-1818	1

Fifth.

J. Valentine Haidt.....1771-1779	8	William Henry (Naz.).1795-1796	1
Andreas Borhek.....1779-1791	12	Joseph Horsfield.....1796-1817	11
J. L'Jungberg.....1791-1795	4	Joseph Rice.....1817-1818	1

Sixth.

Gottlieb Lange.....1771-1785	14	John Weiss.....1802-1814	12
H. Chr. von Schweinitz.1785-1798	13	Seb. Gundt.....1814-1818	4
Ferd. J. Detmers.....1798-1802	4		

B.

President.

OFFICERS, 1818-1915.

	Years.		Years.
Joseph Rice.....1818-1823	5½	Jedediah Weiss.....1871-1874	3
Owen Rice.....1823-1843	20	John C. Weber.....1874-1892	18
Philip H. Goepp.....1843-1861	18	Simon Rau.....1892-1905	13
John M. Miksch.....1861-1871	10	J. Samuel Krause.....1905-1915	10

Secretary.

Matthew Eggert.....1818-1819	1½	Wm. Theo. Roepper...1855-1860	5
David P. Schneller..1819-1825		Eugene A. Frueauff....1860-1865	5
1829	7	Ambrose Rondthaler...1865-1873	8
John J. Kummer.....1825-1827	2	Augustus Schultze.....1873-1885	12
John Oerter.....1827-1828		Julius D. Bishop.....1885-1886	1
1830-1833	5	Augustus H. Leibert...1886-1915	29
John F. Rauch.....1833-1855	22		

Treasurer.

John Schultz.....1818-1821	3½	Rudolph Rauch.....1868-1871	3
Jacob Rice.....1821-1843	22	Simon Rau.....1871-1872	1
William Eberman.....1843-1847	4	Wm. Theo. Roepper...1872-1875	3
Matthew Krause.....1847-1865	18	Francis M. Rauch.....1879-1886	7
Eugene A. Frueauff..1865-1868		Julius D. Bishop.....1886-1895	9
1875-1879	7	Emil J. Bishop.....1895-1915	20

Directors.

First.

David Bischoff.....1818-1820	2½	Simon Rau.....1853-1871	18
Christian Eggert.....1820-1825	5	Henry S. Krause.....1871-1883	12
Jacob Wolle.....1825-1826	1	J. Samuel Krause.....1883-1905	22
Christian Luckenbach..1826-1852	26	Abraham S. Schropp...1905-1915	10
Augustus Wolle.....1852-1853	1		

Second.

Samuel Steup.....1818-1823	5½	John F. Rauch.....1857-1863	6
Matthew Eggert.....1823-1831	8	Ambrose H. Rauch....1863-1867	4
Jacob Kummer.....1831-1832	1	Henry D. Bishop.....1867-1875	8
Abraham Levering.....1832-1835	3	Francis M. Rauch.....1875-1879	4
John Schropp.....1835-1841	6	C. Aug. Luckenbach....1879-1881	2
Amos Bealer.....1841-1843	2	Gilbert Bishop.....1881-1885	4
Charles D. Bishop.....1843-1854	11	Joseph A. Rice.....1885-1909	17
Ernst Lehman.....1854-1857	3	James E. Krause.....1909-1915	6

Third.

John Schneider.....1818-1824	6½	John C. Weber.....1866-1874	8
John G. Kummer.....1824-1830	6	Eugene A. Frueauff....1874-1875	1
John Warner.....1830-1837	7	William Leibert.....1875-1886	11
Philip H. Goepp.....1837-1843	6	Augustus S. Bishop....1886-1910	24
John Oerter.....1843-1866	23	William N. Schwarze..1911-1915	4

Fourth.

Frederick Rauch.....1818-1820	2½	Thomas Miess.....1856-1869	13
John F. Rauch.....1820-1833	13	Christian H. Belling...1869-1897	28
William Horsfield.....1833-1843	10	Ashton C. Borhek.....1897-1898	1
Jacob Rice.....1843-1844	1	Henry T. Clauder.....1898-1908	10
Amos Bealer.....1844-1856	12	Matthew J. Schmid....1908-1915	7

Fifth.

	Years.		Years.
Christian Borhek.....1818-1823	5½	John M. Miksch.....1833-1861	28
Charles D. Bischoff....1823-1825	2	Jedediah Weiss.....1861-1871	10
Sebastian Gundt.....1825-1826	1	John M. Miksch.....1871-1872	1
David P. Schneller....1826-1827	1	Simon Rau.....1872-1892	20
Jedediah Weiss.....1827-1833	6	L. F. Leibfried.....1892-1915	23

Sixth.

Christian Schropp.....1818-1818	½	Benjamin Eggert.....1834-1855	21
Christian Eggert.....1818-1819	1	Henry B. Luckenbach..1855-1895	40
Owen Rice.....1819-1823	4	Herman A. Doster.....1895-1915	20
John Jacob Jundt.....1823-1831	8	Allen J. Sterner.....1915-	
Christian F. Jungman..1831-1834	3		

IX.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT, SHOWING DIVIDENDS PAID, STATUS OF CAPITAL, ETC., IN SUCCESSIVE YEARS, 1772-1915.

The accounts of the Widows' Society were kept according to the English monetary system from 1770 to 1813, except during the year 1804. In that year the accounts were kept according to the Federal coinage reckoning which, by act of Congress nearly twenty years before, had established the dollar as the monetary unit for the United States. In 1805, however, the old method of reckoning in pounds, shillings and pence was restored to the records of the Society and continued almost a decade longer. From 1814 onward the accounts were reckoned according to the U. S. currency. The long continuance of the old method of reckoning is attributable to the fact that scientific plans and methods make slow headway against popular prejudice and the force of common habits. Many years elapsed after Congress had fixed the character of the Federal coinage before the citizens of the country generally could be persuaded to replace their familiar reckoning according to pounds, shillings and pence by that of dollars and cents; and that in spite of the fact that there was not a single coin to express the value of pounds, shillings and pence. Moreover, scarcely any two or three States reckoned alike the number of shillings to the dollar. The expression "Pound Currency of Pennsylvania." in common use in those days and occurring in the original articles of Constitution of the Widows' Society, meant simply the rating of the pound in Pennsylvania. The average value of the pound in this state, during the time covered by the Widows' Society records, appears to have been $2.66. On this basis the equivalent values in dollars and cents are computed in this table.

For the period of nearly fifty years two classes of members were recognized in the Society. Those of the second class paid but half the entrance fee required of members of the first class. Consequently, widows of members of the second class received but half the annuity paid to widows of members of the first class. In 1791 it appeared that there would be no further accessions to the second class membership, and in 1820 all notices of members of this class cease in the records of the Society.

Up to the year 1818, assessments were paid by the members of the Society. These usually apportioned a tax or contribution of 5 sh. per annum for members of the first class and 2 sh. 6 d. for members of the second class. In the year 1818, it was settled definitely and to general satisfaction, "that, in the future, every applicant for membership, without regard to his own or his wife's age, shall pay $50.00 and nothing more thereafter."

Annuities were paid during the years 1772-1777 to Poor Widows, according to Article 14 of the original 21 Articles of the Society. "And in as much as the Motive of this Brotherly Association is no other but such Compassion and Concern for Widows as is pleasing to Almighty God, it is agreed that from the first Tuesday in January, 1772, One Annuity in two Half-yearly Payments shall be given and distributed to and among such Widows of the Bethlehem Widow-House, as on account of their old Age or Infirmities are not able to earn sufficient to support themselves in the Necessaries of Life, and have no Prospect of any other Relief or Assistance. But whether this Annuity shall be one of the First or Second Class, the Members of the Half-yearly Meetings shall determine by a Majority of Votes; for it is intended that on account of this Charity, the Annuities of Widows belonging to this Association, shall at no time be charged or defaulked, nor any extraordinary Contribution required from the members of this Association." After 1777 no such appropriations could be voted.

Differences in the amounts of annuity paid to the several widows in Class I or Class II, respectively, in any one year are to be accounted for by the fact that the annuity payments were apportioned according to the number of months of widowhood of the several beneficiaries in that year.

For more than a century dividends of the Society were declared in January and July. From 1879 onward, they were declared in December and June.

Yr.	Mo.	No. Mem.	No. Wid.	FIRST CLASS. Each Widow Received.	SECOND CLASS. Each Widow Received.	POOR WIDOWS. Received.	Total for Year.	Five Year Totals.	Capital.
1772	July	110	2	1 at £ 9, 6, 8 ($ 24.60)	1 at £ 2, 6, 1 ($ 6.00)	£7, 10, 0 ($20.00)	$ 50.60	$ 50.60	£925
1773	Jan.	124	2	1 at 7, 10, 0 (20.00)	1 at 3, 10, 0 (9.20)	7, 10, 0 (20.00)			($2460.50)
	July	147	4	1 at 7, 10, 0 (20.00)	1 at 3, 15, 0 (10.00)	3, 15, 0 (10.00)			
				1 at 5, 16, 0 (15.30)					
				1 at 5, 10, 0 (14.63)			119.13		
1774	Jan.	148	6	4 at 7, 10, 0 (20.00)	1 at 3, 15, 0 (10.00)	3, 15, 0 (10.00)			
					1 at 1, 8, 4 (3.90)				
	July	155	6	4 at 7, 10, 0 (20.00)	1 at 3, 15, 0 (10.00)	3, 15, 0 (10.00)			
					1 at 3, 11, 6 (9.25)		213.15		
1775	Jan.	157	6	4 at 7, 10, 0 (20.00)	1 at 3, 15, 0 (10.00)	3, 15, 0 (10.00)			
				1 at 6, 5, 0 (16.62)					
	July	156	6	4 at 7, 10, 0 (20.00)	1 at 3, 6, 4 (9.00)	3, 15, 0 (10.00)			
					1 at 3, 15, 0 (10.00)		225.62		
1776	Jan.	155	8	5 at 7, 10, 0 (20.00)	1 at 1, 19, 0 (5.20)	7, 10, 0 (20.00)			£2011
				1 at 8, 15, 0 (23.37)					($5349.26)
				1 at 7, 5, 0 (19.25)					
	July	152	10	7 at 7, 10, 0 (20.00)	1 at 3, 9, 0 (9.18)	3, 15, 0 (10.00)			
					1 at 3, 13, 3 (9.90)				
					1 at 3, 0, 0 (8.58)		345.38		
1777	Jan.	154	9	8 at 7, 10, 0 (20.00)	1 at 3, 15, 0 (10.00)	3, 15, 0 (10.00)			
	July	147	16	8 at 7, 1, 8 (18.75)	1 at 3, 10, 10 (9.20)				
					1 at 1, 12, 7 (4.28)				
					1 at 3, 17, 10 (10.78)				
					1 at 0, 3, 0 (.39)				
					1 at 4, 2, 6 (11.76)				
					1 at 3, 18, 7 (10.76)				
					1 at 3, 2, 10 (9.36)				
					1 at 6, 4, 3 (16.47)		403.00		
								1306.28 (for 5½ years.)	

87.

1787.

July 2d.

Brought over from P. 86. £ 104 to 102 2.18.11

221. Hans Christian Schweiner Dr. to Cash paid him this day in Part of the Principal due him . . . .

226. Sundries Dr. to Cash for half yearly Annuities paid to Widows . . . .

221.	Elizth Copplewell	1st Class	£	2. 11.	
208.	Mary Nitschman	Do.		2. 11.	
138.	Gertraud Schneider	Do.		2. 11.	
163.	Sarah Utley	Do.		2. 11.	
90.	Catherine Fratt	Do.		2. 11.	
73.	Philippina Steinland	Do.		2. 11.	
77.	Catherina Vetter	Do.		2. 11.	
15.	Johanna Schmick	Do.		2. 11.	
18.	Martha Hussey	Do.		2. 11.	
41.	Catherina Müller	Do.		2. 11.	
101.	Phoebe Payne	Do.		2. 11.	
14.	Appolonia Eggert	Do.		2. 11.	
33.	Lucia Spotts	Do.		2. 11.	
19.	Mary Ann Garrison	Do.		2. 11.	
174.	M. C. Fisher	Do.		2. 11.	
180.	A. Eliz. Stöhr	Do.		2. 11.	
52.	A. Joh. Seidel	Do.		2. 11.	
227.	Magdal. Hafner	Do.		2. 11.	
20.	Ana Hel. Heberland	Do.		2. 11.	
120.	Anna Louis	Do.		2. 11.	
186.	Helena Schmidt	Do.		2. 11.	
5.	Sibilla Beck	Do.		2. 11.	
214.	Theodore Weisser	Do.		2. 11.	
22.	Anna Cath. Hanke	Do.		2. 11.	
15.	Agnes Fisher	Do.		2. 11.	
64.	Mary Weber	Do.		2. 11.	
186.	A. M. Wichler	Do.		2. 11.	
37.	Marg. Cath. Lembke	Do.		2. 11.	
224.					1. 8.

Carried forward to Page 88 104 to 102 84. 3. 11

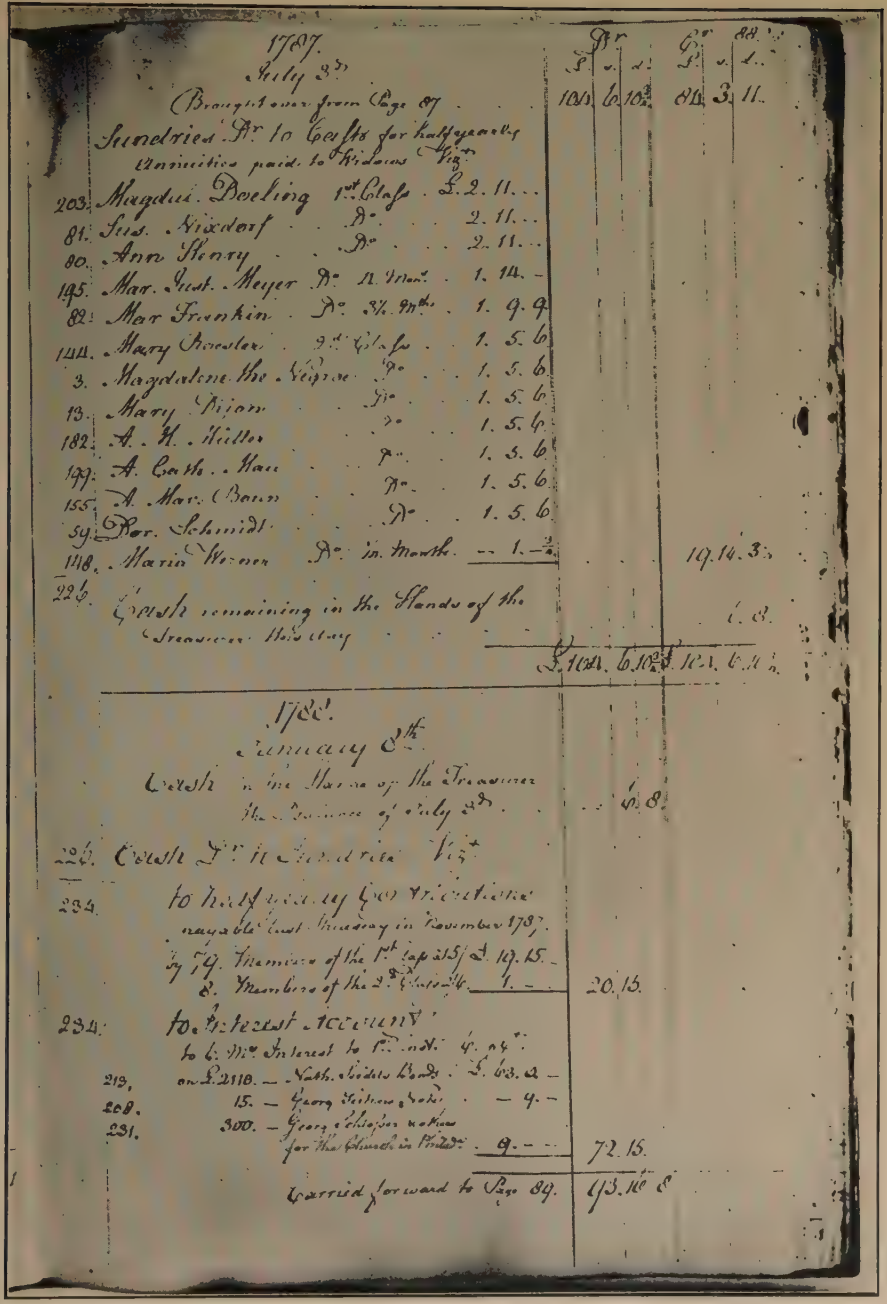
Specimen page from the Journal of the Widows' Society.
(Reduced one-third.)

Yr.	Mo.	No. Memb.	No. Wid.	FIRST CLASS. Each Widow Received.	SECOND CLASS. Each Widow Received.	Total for Year.	Five Year Totals.	Capital.
1778	Jan.	146	18	13 at £ 6, 0, 0 ($ 15.96) 1 at 6, 11, 14 (18.60)	3 at £ 3, 0, 0 ($ 7.98) 1 at 2, 18, 0 (7.72)			
	July	139	20	15 at 6, 0, 0 (15.96) 2 at 5, 0, 0 (13.30)	3 at 3, 0, 0 (7.98)	547.48		
1779	Jan.	141	22	17 at 6, 0, 0 (15.96) 1 at 5, 0, 0 (13.30)	3 at 3, 0, 0 (7.98) 1 at 3, 2, 4 (8.27)			
	July	138	24	18 at 6, 0, 0 (15.96) 1 at 0, 13, 4 (1.73)	4 at 3, 0, 0 (7.98) 1 at 1, 1, 8 (2.98)	640.79		
1780	Jan.	136	27	20 at 6, 0, 0 (15.96) 1 at 3, 0, 0 (7.98)	5 at 3, 0, 0 (7.98) 1 at 0, 10, 0 (1.33)			
	July	131	29	19 at 68, 4, 0 (181.40) 1 at 51, 3, 0 (136.06) 1 at 5, 13, 8 (13.73) 1 at 62, 10, 4 (166.27) 1 at 28, 8, 4 (75.81)	5 at 34, 2, 0 (80.70) 1 at 8, 10, 6 (22.61)	4632.99		
1781	Jan.	131	27	21 at 3, 0, 0 (7.98)	1 at 1, 3, 4 (3.07) 5 at 1, 10, 0 (4.00)			£2258 ($6006.28)
	July	129	28	22 at 3, 0, 0 (7.98) 1 at 2, 16, 8 (7.52)	5 at 1, 10, 0 (4.00)	393.73		
1782	Jan.	124	30	22 at 3, 5, 6 (8.65) 1 at 3, 0, 0 (7.98) 1 at 1, 0, 0 (2.66)	5 at 1, 12, 9 (4.25) 1 at 1, 15, 5½ (4.69)			
	July	123	34	25 at 3, 8, 7 (9.04) 1 at 0, 18, 6 (2.34) 1 at 0, 8, 1¼ (1.05) 1 at 0, 15, 9 (2.00) 1 at 0, 8, 4 (1.03)	6 at 1, 14, 3½ (4.49)	486.24	6701.23	
1783	Jan.	122	38	27 at £ 3, 2, 2 ($ 8.25) 1 at 2, 1, 6¾ (5.48) 1 at 2, 6, 8¾ (6.14) 1 at 1, 11, 1 (4.09)	5 at £ 1, 11, 0 ($ 4.09) 1 at 0, 14, 3 (1.82)			

Yr.	Mo.	No. Memb.	No. Wid.	FIRST CLASS. Each Widow Received.	SECOND CLASS. Each Widow Received.	Total for Year.	Five Year Totals.	Capital.
				1 at 0, 17, 2 (2.22)				
				1 at 0, 5, 7 (.76)				
	July	116	37	29 at 2, 16, 0 (7.40)	5 at 1, 8, 0 (3.70)			
				1 at 2, 11, 3½ (6.75)				
				1 at 1, 12, 5½ (4.25)				
				1 at 2, 1, 10½ (5.51)		513.32		
1784	Jan.	111	37	31 at 2, 17, 6 (7.53)	6 at 1, 8, 9 (3.74)			
	July	105	39	30 at 2, 15, 6 (7.30)	6 at 1 7, 9 (3.60)			
				1 at 2, 10, 11 (6.70)				
				1 at 0, 13, 10 (1.75)				
				1 at 0, 16, 2 (2.09)		507.01.		
1785	Jan.	99	39	31 at 2, 12, 6 (6.92)	6 at 1, 6, 3 (3.45)			
				1 at 1, 19, 4½ (5.22)				
				1 at 0, 17, 6 (2.21)				
	July	99	40	31 at 2, 12, 6 (6.92)	6 at 1, 6, 3 (3.45)			
				1 at 2, 1, 6¾ (5.48)				
				1 at 0, 8, 9 (1.06)				
				1 at 0, 4, 4½ (.56)		484.97		
1786	Jan.	91	42	32 at 2, 9, 0 (6.50)	6 at 1, 4, 6 (3.21)			£2346 ($6240.36)
				2 at 2, 4, 11 (6.07)				
				1 at 1, 8, 7 (3.72)				
				1 at 1, 4, 6 (3.21)				
				1 at 1, 2, 5 (3.05)				
	July	91	42	32 at 2, 10, 6 (6.65)	6 at 1, 5, 3 (3.31)			
				1 at 0, 6, 3¾ (.69)	1 at 0, 18, 11¼ (2.47)			
				1 at 1, 5, 3 (3.31)				
				1 at 1, 9, 5½ (3.83)		485.84		
1787	Jan.	91	40	31 at 2, 11, 0 (6.75)	7 at 1, 5, 6 (3.34)			
				1 at 2, 6, 10½ (6.16)				
				1 at 0, 4, 1½ (.52)				
	July	87	41	31 at 2, 11, 0 (6.75)	7 at 1, 5, 6 (3.34)			
				1 at 1, 14, 0 (4.50)	1 at 0, 1, ¾ (.14)			
				1 at 1, 9, 9 (4.00)		480.58		
							2471.72	

Yr.	Mo.	No. Memb.	No. Wid.	FIRST CLASS. Each Widow Received.	SECOND CLASS. Each Widow Received.	Total for Year.	Five Year Totals.	Capital.
1788	Jan.	84	40	31 at £ 2, 12, 0 ($ 6.88)	8 at £ 1, 6, 0 ($ 3.45)			
				1 at 2, 5, 6 (6.00)				
	July	86	41	30 at 2, 12, 0 (6.88)	8 at 1, 6, 0 (3.45)			
				1 at 2, 14, 2 (7.16)				
				1 at 1, 8, 2 (3.70)				
				1 at 1, 12, 6 (4.28)		496.02		
1789	Jan.	82	41	30 at 2, 9, 3 (6.50)	8 at 1, 4, 7½ (3.20)			
				1 at 2, 7, 3 (6.24)				
				1 at 2, 5, 1½ (5.98)				
				1 at 0, 14, 3 (1.83)				
	July	77	42	32 at 2, 8, 9 (6.40)	8 at 1, 4, 4½ (3.21)			
				1 at 1, 0, 0 (2.66)	1 at 0, 6, 1 (.78)	468.57		
1790	Jan.	76	42	33 at 2, 7, 9 (6.38)	8 at 1, 3, 10 (3.18)			
					1 at 0, 7, 9 (1.03)			
	July	72	44	31 at 2, 8, 3 (6.50)	9 at 1, 4, 4½ (3.21)			
				1 at 0, 6, 0 (.78)				
				1 at 0, 18, 0 (2.34)				
				1 at 0, 14, 0 (1.83)				
				1 at 0, 10, 0 (1.32)		443.68		
1791	Jan.	70	43	32 at 2, 6, 10½ (6.21)	7 at 1, 3, 5¼ (3.08)			£2416
				1 at 2, 3, 3 (5.72)	1 at 0, 13, 7¼ (1.73)			($6426.56)
				1 at 1, 17, 6 (4.87)	1 at 0, 17, 0 (2.22)			
	July	68	43	31 at 2, 8, 0 (6.37)	8 at 1, 4, 0 (3.20)			
				1 at 1, 2, 0 (2.93)				
				1 at 0, 16, 0 (1.69)				
				1 at 0, 12, 0 (1.59)				
				1 at 1, 18, 0 (5.02)		469.20		
1792	Jan.	65	43	33 at 2, 7, 6 (6.27)	8 at 1, 3, 9 (3.18)			
				1 at 0, 14, 0 (1.82)	1 at 1, 0, 0 (2.66)			
	July	65	45	33 at 2, 7, 2 (6.23)	9 at 1, 3, 7 (3.09)			
				1 at 1, 3, 7 (3.09)				
				2 at 0, 15, 9 (1.68)		475.00		
							2352.47	

Yr.	Mo.	No. Memb.	No. Wid.	FIRST CLASS. Each Widow Received.	SECOND CLASS. Each Widow Received.	Total for Year.	Five Year Totals.	Capital.
1793	Jan.	63	47	35 at £ 2, 1, 6 ($ 5.48) 1 at 1, 18, 0 (5.00) 1 at 1, 6, 0 (3.44) 1 at 0, 17, 3¼ (2.34)	9 at £ 1, 0, 9 ($ 2.68)			
	July	61	49	39 at 1, 4, 16 (4.50) 1 at 1, 3, 0 (3.05)	8 at 0, 19, 8½ (2.60) 1 at 0, 5, 0 (.65)	426.70		
1794	Jan.	57	50	39 at 1, 18, 0 (5.00) 1 at 1, 5, 4 (3.32) 1 at 0, 17, 5 (2.34) 1 at 1, 1, 1 (2.85)	7 at 0, 19, 0 (2.56) 1 at 0, 15, 10 (2.00)			
	July	56	47	39 at 1, 19, 6 (5.23) 1 at 1, 3, 0 (2.05)	7 at 0, 19, 9 (2.66)	448.07		
1795	Jan.	56	47	39 at 2, 0, 0 (5.32) 1 at 0, 6, 8 (.71)	7 at 1, 0, 0 (2.66)			
	July	54	48	39 at 1, 9, 4½ (5.15) 1 at 0, 19, 4 (2.48) 1 at 0, 8, 8 (1.07)	7 at 0, 19, 8½ (2.50)	458.71		
1796	Jan.	54	47	39 at 1, 19, 10 (5.32) 1 at 0, 7, 6 (.94)	7 at 0, 19, 11 (2.86)			£2663 ($7083.58)
	July	53	45	38 at 2, 0, 3½ (5.33)	7 at 1, 0, 1¾ (2.67)	449.67		
1797	Jan.	54	46	37 at 2, 2, 2¼ (5.70) 1 at 0, 16, 4 (2.10)	8 at 1, 1, 1⅛ (2.85)			
	July	54	48	36 at 2, 3, 1½ (5.72) 2 at 0, 11, 8 (1.56) 1 at 1, 12, 8 (4.25) 1 at 0, 4, 8 (.58)	8 at 1, 1, 6¾ (2.89)	478.49	2261.64	
1798	Jan.	57	49	40 at £ 2, 1, 3 ($ 5.45)	8 at £ 1, 0, 7½ ($ 2.67) 1 at 0, 16, 10½ (2.22)			
	July	56	47	37 at 2, 1, 3 (5.49) 1 at 0, 1, 4 (.14)	9 at 1, 0, 7½ (2.67)	467.88		
1799	Jan.	55	47	37 at 2, 3, 1½ (5.70) 1 at 0, 11, 10 (1.56)	9 at 1, 1, 6¾ (2.89)			



			Dr. £	s.	d.	Cr. £	s.	d.
	1787. July 3d.							
	Brought over from Page 87		104	6	10¾	84	3	11
	Sundries Dr. to Casts for half yearly Annuities paid to Widows Viz.							
203.	Magdal. Doeling 1st Class	£ 2. 11.						
81.	Sus. Nixdorf Do.	2. 11.						
80.	Ann Henry Do.	2. 11.						
195.	Mar. Just. Meyer Do. 4 Mons.	1. 14. –						
82.	Mar Frankin Do. 3½ Mths.	1. 9. 9						
144.	Mary Roesler 2d Class	1. 5. 6						
3.	Magdalene the Negroe Do.	1. 5. 6						
13.	Mary Dijon Do.	1. 5. 6						
182.	A. H. Hiller Do.	1. 5. 6						
199.	A. Cath. Mau Do.	1. 5. 6						
155.	A. Mar. Baum Do.	1. 5. 6						
59.	Dor. Schmidt Do.	1. 5. 6						
148.	Maria Werner Do. in Month	– 1. – ¾				19.	14.	3½
226.	Cash remaining in the Hands of the Treasurer this day						6.	8.
			£ 104.	6.	10¾	£ 104.	6.	10¾
	1788. January 8th.							
	Cash in the Hands of the Treasurer the Balance of July 3d.			6.	8.			
226.	Cash Dr. to Sundries Viz.							
234.	to half yearly Contributions payable last Thursday in November 1787.							
	by 79. Members of the 1st Class 2/5	£ 19. 15. –						
	8. Members of the 2d Class 2/6	1. –	20.	15.				
234.	to Interest Account							
	to 6 Mo. Interest to 1st Instt.	4. 04.						
213.	on £ 2110. – Nath. Seidels Bonds	£ 63. 2. –						
208.	15. – Georg Seitzers Notes	– 9. –						
231.	300. – Georg Schlosser Notes for the Church in Philadn.	9. –	72.	15.				
	Carried forward to Page 89.		93.	16.	8			

Specimen page from the Journal of the Widows' Society.
(Reduced one-third.)

Yr.	Mo.	No. Memb.	No. Wid.	FIRST CLASS. Each Widow Received.	SECOND CLASS. Each Widow Received.	Total for Year.	Five Year Totals.	Capital.
	July	55	46	36 at 2, 5, 0 (5.87) 1 at 0, 16, 10½ (2.22)	8 at 1, 2, 6 (3.05) 1 at 0, 5, 7½ (.67)	477.08		
1800	Jan.	53	44	36 at 2, 5, 0 (5.87)	8 at 1, 2, 6 (3.05)			
	July	52	44	33 at 2, 6, 10½ (6.21) 1 at 0, 11, 8½ (1.56) 1 at 1, 1, 0 (2.79) 1 at 0, 19, 6 (2.66)	8 at 1, 3, 5¼ (3.08)	462.30		
1801	Jan.	52	43	33 at 2, 5, 0 (5.87) 1 at 1, 10, 0 (3.96) 1 at 1, 17, 6 (5.00)	8 at 1, 2, 6 (3.05)			£2882, 7, 4 ($7667.27)
	July	51	42	33 at 2, 8, 9 (6.50) 1 at 1, 8, 5 (3.72)	8 at 1, 4, 4½ (3.21)	470.97		
1802	Jan.	47	44	34 at 2, 6, 10½ (6.14) 1 at 1, 10, 11½ (4.09) 1 at 0, 7, 6 (.94)	8 at 1, 3, 5½ (3.08)			
	July	44	46	35 at 2, 4, 1 (5.84) 1 at 1, 13, 0 (1.69) 1 at 1, 9, 4 (3.83) 1 at 0, 14, 8 (1.95)	8 at 1, 2, ½ (2.92)	473.76	2351.99	
1803	Jan.	41	48	37 at £ 2, 3, 1 ($ 3.83) 1 at 1, 1, 6¾ (2.88) 1 at 0, 14, 4½ (1.83) 1 at 0, 4, 9 (.57)	8 at £ 1, 1, 6¾ ($ 2.88)			
	July	41	49	39 at 2, 1, 3 (5.45) 1 at 1, 14, 4 (4.50)	8 at 1, 0, 7½ (2.67) 1 at 0, 17, 2 (2.22)	410.66		
1804	Jan.	41	48	38 at $ 5.50 2 at 4.10	8 at $ 2.75			
	July	41	47	38 at 5.75 1 at 2.40	8 at 2.87½	493.10		
1805	Jan.	41	47	34 at £ 2, 6, 10½ ($ 6.16) 7 at 0, 5, 8 (.77)	6 at £ 1, 3, 5¼ ($ 3.07)			

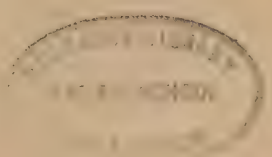
Yr.	Mo.	No. Memb.	No. Wid.	FIRST CLASS. Each Widow Received.	SECOND CLASS. Each Widow Received.	Total for Year.	Five Year Totals.	Capital.
	July	40	41	34 at 2, 10, 2 (6.33)	5 at 1, 5, 1 (3.32)			
					1 at 1, 0, 1½ (2.67)			
					1 at 0, 14, 4 (1.83)	469.57		
1806	Jan.	40	41	35 at 2, 8, 9 (6.40)	4 at 1, 4, 4 (3.20)			£3031, 17, 4 ($8064.82)
				1 at 2, 0, 7 (5.35)				
				1 at 1, 0, 4½ (2.67)				
	July	36	45	35 at 2, 7, 6 (6.25)	4 at 1, 3, 9 (3.09)			
				1 at 1, 15, 7 (4.64)	1 at 0, 10, 10 (1.31)			
				1 at 1, 9, 8 (3.87)				
				1 at 1, 12, 8 (4.25)				
				1 at 1, 1, 1 (2.85)				
				1 at 0, 7, 0 (.91)		493.26		
1807	Jan.	43	43	38 at 2, 5, 0 (5.87)	4 at 1, 2, 6 (3.05)			
				1 at 1, 4, 4½ (3.21)				
	July	33	43	37 at 2, 7, 6 (6.25)	4 at 1, 3, 9 (3.09)			
				1 at 0, 18, 3½ (2.35)				
				1 at 1, 3, 6 (3.08)		487.51		
							2354.10	
1808	Jan.	32	42	34 at £ 2, 8, 9 ($ 6.40)	4 at £ 1, 4, 4½ ($ 3.20)			
				1 at 2, 0, 7½ (5.35)				
				1 at 0, 18, 3 (2.35)				
				1 at 1, 0, 0 (2.66)				
				1 at 1, 11, 1 (4.09)				
	July	32	39	35 at 2, 10, 7½ (6.65)	4 at 1, 5, 3¾ (3.33)	490.92		
1809	Jan.	28	41	35 at 2, 8, 9 (6.40)	4 at 1, 4, 4½ (3.20)			
				1 at 1, 8, 5 (3.71)				
				1 at 0, 12, 2¼ (1.57)				
	July	27	41	33 at 2, 10, 7½ (6.65)	4 at 1, 5, 3¾ (3.33)			
				1 at 0, 4, 2½ (.53)				
				1 at 1, 15, 10 (4.62)				
				1 at 1, 17, 11½ (4.85)				
				1 at 1, 9, 6½ (4.00)		489.88		

Yr.	Mo.	No. Memb.	No. Wid.	FIRST CLASS. Each Widow Received.	SECOND CLASS. Each Widow Received.	Total for Year.	Five Year Totals.	Capital.
1810	Jan.	27	38	33 at 2, 10, 7½ (6.65) 1 at 1, 13, 9 (4.39)	4 at 1, 5, 3¾ (3.33)			
	July	27	37	30 at 2, 16, 3 (7.41) 1 at 0, 6, 3 (.79) 1 at 2, 2, 2¼ (5.70) 1 at 2, 13, 10¾ (7.07)	4 at 1, 8, 1½ (3.70)	487.82		
1811	Jan.	29	34	29 at 2, 18, 1½ (7.72) 1 at 0, 14, 6¼ (1.84)	4 at 1, 9, 3¼ (3.74)			£3048, 7, 4 ($8108.83)
	July	33	34	29 at 2, 19, ¾ (7.85) 1 at 2, 11, 8 (6.77)	4 at 1, 9, 6⅜ (3.86)	490.54		
1812	Jan.	34	35	28 at 2, 18, 1½ (7.72) 1 at 2, 13, 3¾ (7.05) 1 at 1, 8, 0 (3.66) 1 at 0, 14, 7 (1.84)	4 at 1, 9, ¾ (3.74)			
	July	34	35	29 at 2, 18, 1½ (7.72) 1 at 1, 9, ¾ (3.74) 1 at 0, 14, 6¾ (1.84)	4 at 1, 9, ¾ (3.74)	488.09	2447.25	
1813	Jan.	32	34	28 at £ 3, 1, 10½ ($ 8.17) 1 at 0, 12, 10¾ (1.60) 1 at 1, 10, 11¼ (4.01)	4 at £ 1, 10, 11¼ ($ 4.01)			
	July	32	33	27 at 3, 1, 10½ (8.17) 1 at 1, 10, 11¼ (4.01) 1 at 2, 11, 7½ (6.77)	4 at 1, 10, 11¼ (4.01)	497.82		

Yr.	Mo.	No. Memb.	No. Wid.	FIRST CLASS. Received.	SECOND CLASS. Received.	Total for Year.	Five Year Totals.	Capital.
1814	Jan.	32	33	26 at $ 8.75	4 at $ 4.37½			
				1 at 8.02				
				1 at 5.82				
				1 at 5.08				
	July	25	32	27 at 8.50	4 at 4.25			
				1 at 7.75		518.17		
1815	Jan.	27	31	26 at 9.25	4 at 4.62½			
				1 at 1.08				
	July	27	30	26 at 9.25	3 at 4.62½			
					1 at 3.29	517.74		
1816	Jan.	29	31	25 at 9.25	3 at 4.62½			$9565.6
				1 at 7.85				
				1 at 4.63				
				1 at 2.12				
	July	29	28	25 at 10.50	3 at 5.25	537.97		
1817	Jan.	29	28	25 at 11.00	3 at 5.50			
	July	29	27	24 at 11.50	3 at 5.75	584.75	2656.45	
1818	Jan.	44	26	22 at $12.50	3 at $ 6.25			
				1 at 4.88				
	July	44	25	21 at 12.00	3 at 6.00			
				1 at 4.00		572.63		
1819	Jan.	54	24	20 at 12.50	3 at 6.25			
					1 at .98			
	July	62	23	22 at 13.00	1 at 6.14	561.87		
1820	Jan.	61	23	22 at 13.00				
				1 at 8.23				
	July	63	22	18 at 14.00				
				1 at 3.11				
				1 at 8.09				
				1 at 10.26				
				1 at 3.73		568.19		
1821	Jan.	60	19	19 at 14.50				$11,313.4
	July	60	23	19 at 14.00				
				1 at 7.97				
				1 at 7.23				
				1 at 5.37				
				1 at 3.73		565.80		

Yr.		No. Memb.	No. Wid.	Each Widow. Recd. $		Total, Year.	Five Year Totals.	Capital.
1822	Jan.		23	15.00				
	June	71	23	15.00	30.00	690.00		
							2,958.49	
1823	Jan.		21	16.00				
	June	74	20	18.00	34.00	696.00		
1824	Jan.		19	19.00				
	June	81	22	18.50	37.50	768.00		
1825	Jan.		21	19.00				
	June	91	22	19.00	38.00	817.00		
1826	Jan.		24	18.00				
	June	90	26	16.50	34.50	861.50		13,609.40
1827	Jan.		25	18.50				
	June	94	25	18.00	36.50	912.50		
							4,055.00	

Yr.		No. Memb.	No. Wid.	Each Widow. Recd. $		Total, Year.	Five Year Totals.	Capital.
1828	Jan.		29	16.00				
	June	95	31	15.00	31.00	929.00		
1829	Jan.		30	15.00				
	June	103	31	15.00	30.00	915.00		
1830	Jan.		32	15.00				
	June	113	33	15.00	30.00	975.00		
1831	Jan.		31	16.50				
	June	115	32	17.00	33.50	1055.00		16,090.40
1832	Jan.		33	16.50				
	June	117	32	17.00	33.50	1088.50		
							4,962.50	
1833	Jan.		32	17.50				
	June	121	34	16.50	34.00	1121.00		
1834	Jan.		36	17.00				
	June	124	38	16.00	33.00	1220.00		
1835	Jan.		41	14.00				
	June	138	39	16.00	30.00	1198.00		
1836	Jan.		39	16.00				
	June	140	38	16.00	32.00	1232.00		19,697.40
1837	Jan.		38	17.00				
	June	144	39	17.00	34.00	1309.00		
							6,080.00	
1838	Jan.		43	15.00				
	June	144	45	14.00	29.00	1275.00		
1839	Jan.		45	15.00				
	June	146	65	14.00	29.00	1319.00		
1840	Jan.		46	15.00				
	June	150	47	10.00	25.00	1160.00		
1841	Jan.		49	10.00				
	June	151	50	12.00	22.00	1090.00		21,355.40
1842	Jan.		53	12.00				
	June	151	53	10.00	22.00	1166.00		
							6,010.00	
1843	Jan.		56	10.00				
	June	155	54	12.00	22.00	1208.00		
1844	Jan.		55	12.00				
	June	161	55	13.00	25.00	1375.00		
1845	Jan.		55	12.00				
	June	165	54	12.50	24.50	1335.00		
1846	Jan.		56	12.50				
	June	170	59	12.00	24.50	1408.00		22,613.07
1847	Jan.		60	12.00				
	June	171	60	12.00	24.00	1440.00		
							6,766.00	
1848	Jan.		64	12.00				
	June	169	60	12.50	24.50	1518.00		
1849	Jan.		63	12.50				
	June	170	65	12.50	25.00	1600.00		
1850	Jan.		68	11.50				
	June	174	67	11.50	23.00	1552.00		
1851	Jan.		70	11.50				
	June	175	68	11.50	23.00	1587.00		24,541.07
1852	Jan.		70	12.00				
	June	169	74	11.00	23.00	1654.00		
							7,911.00	
1853	Jan.		75	11.00				
	June	168	73	11.00	22.00	1628.00		



Yr.	No. Memb.	No. Wid.	Each Widow. Recd. $		Total, Year.	Five Year Totals.	Capital.
1854 Jan.		76	11.00				
July	170	75	12.00	23.00	1736.00		
1855 Jan.		75	12.00				
July	176	71	12.00	24.00	1752.00		
1856 Jan.		70	12.00				
July	178	68	13.00	25.00	1724.00		25,641.07
1857 Jan.		67	13.00				
July	180	70	13.00	26.00	1781.00		
						8,621.00	
1858 Jan.		70	12.00				
July	180	70	12.00	24.00	1680.00		
1859 Jan.		67	12.50				
July	175	68	13.00	25.50	1721.50		
1860 Jan.		69	13.00				
July	179	69	12.50	25.50	1759.50		
1861 Jan.		73	12.00				
July	179	74	11.00	23.00	1690.00		26,974.07
1862 Jan.		73	11.00				
July	182	71	11.00	22.00	1584.00		
						8,435.00	
1863 Jan.		67	13.00				
July	185	65	14.00	27.00	1781.00		
1864 Jan.		65	14.00				
July	188	64	16.00	30.00	1934.00		
1865 Jan.		65	16.00				
July	205	62	16.00	32.00	2032.00		
1866 Jan.		65	16.00				
July	202	61	18.00	34.00	2318.00		29,707.07
1867 Jan.		71	16.00				
July	212	65	17.00	33.00	2241.00		
						10,306.00	
1868 Jan.		64	17.00				
July	218	65	18.00	35.00	2258.00		
1869 Jan.		61	18.00				
July	223	61	22.00	40.00	2440.00		
1870 Jan.		65	20.00				
July	219	61	25.00	45.00	2825.00		
1871 Jan.		63	24.00				
July	229	66	18.00	42.00	2700.00		31963.15
1872 Jan.		66	18.00				
July	225	63	22.00	40.00	2574.00		
						12,957.00	
1873 Jan.		63	21.00				
July	230	63	23.00	44.00	2772.00		
1874 Jan.		65	20.00				
July	230	69	21.00	41.00	2749.00		
1875 Jan.		71	20.00				
July	236	73	20.00	40.00	2880.00		
1876 Jan.		74	20.00				
July	240	71	19.00	39.00	2829.00		33,562.18
1877 Jan.		73	19.00				
July	233	70	18.00	37.00	2647.00		
1878 Jan.		71	15.00				
July	238	70	16.00	31.00	2185.00		
						16,062.00	(for 6 years.)

Yr.		No. Memb.	No. Wid.	Each Widow. Recd. $		Total, Year.	Five Year Totals.	Capital.
1879	Jan.		73	18.00				
	July	230	75	16.00	34.00	2514.00		
	Dec.		76	14.00				
1880	June	227	80	13.00	27.00	2104.00		37,019.79
	Dec.		78	14.00				
1881	June	225	77	17.00	31.00	2401.00		
	Dec.		79	15.00				
1882	June	228	80	14.00	29.00	2305.00		
	Dec.		79	15.00				
1883	June	227	79	14.00	29.00	2291.00		
	Dec.		78	16.00				
1884	June	225	73	17.00	33.00	2489.00		
							14,104.00 (for 6 years.)	
	Dec.		74	17.00				
1885	June	225	76	15.00	32.00	2398.00		39,451.04
	Dec.		82	14.00				
1886	June	224	84	15.00	29.00	2408.00		
	Dec.		82	14.50				
1887	June	221	84	14.00	28.50	2365.00		
	Dec.		86	14.00				
1888	June	215	90	13.00	27.00	2378.00		
	Dec.		93	13.00				
1889	June	220	95	13.00	26.00	2444.00		
							11,993.00	
	Dec.		92	14.00				
1890	June	220	91	14.00	28.00	2562.00		46,033.74
	Dec.		89	14.00				
1891	June	213	87	14.00	28.00	2484.00		
	Dec.		86	16.00				
1892	June	215	86	16.00	32.00	2752.00		
	Dec.		87	17.00				
1893	June	198	88	15.00	32.00	2799.00		
	Dec.		85	16.00				
1894	June	199	86	15.00	31.00	2650.00		
							13,247.00	
	Dec.		84	17.00				
1895	June	191	81	15.00	32.00	2643.00		49,251.39
	Dec.		82	16.00				
1896	June	192	80	17.00	33.00	2672.00		
	Dec.		83	14.00				
1897	June	185	84	17.00	31.00	2590.00		
	Dec.		83	15.00				
1898	June	178	84	17.00	32.00	2673.00		
	Dec.		85	15.00				
1899	June	168	87	17.00	32.00	2754.00		
							13,332.00	
	Dec.		87	15.00				
1900	June	188	82	15.00	30.00	2535.00		51,295.22
	Dec.		84	15.00				
1901	June	190	85	20.00	35.00	2960.00		
	Dec.		82	14.00				
1902	June	192	83	16.00	30.00	2476.00		
	Dec.		82	18.00				
1903	June	189	81	20.00	38.00	3096.00		
	Dec.		80	18.00				
1904	June	180	76	19.00	37.00	2884.00		
							13,951.00	

Yr.		No. Memb.	No. Wid.	Each Widow. Recd. $		Total, Year.	Five Year Totals.	Capital.
	Dec.		75	18.00				
1905	June	178	71	20.00	38.00	2770.00		51,315.21
	Dec.		73	19.00				
1906	June	183	71	19.00	38.00	2736.00		
	Dec.		74	18.00				
1907	June	171	70	20.00	38.00	2732.00		
	Dec.		69	19.00				
1908	June	168	70	20.00	39.00	2711.00		
	Dec.		67	19.00				
1909	June	167	66	22.00	41.00	2725.00		
							13,674.00	
	Dec.		67	19.00				
1910	June	169	66	21.00	40.00	2659.00		57,236.99
	Dec.		69	22.00				
1911	June	169	69	22.00	44.00	3036.00		
	Dec.		71	21.00				
1912	June	166	71	22.00	43.00	3053.00		
	Dec.		74	20.00				
1913	June	171	70	22.00	42.00	3020.00		
	Dec.		70	21.00				
1914	June	177	69	23.00	44.00	3057.00		
	Dec.		69	21.00				
1915	June	173	68	23.00	44.00	3013.00		57,509.94
							17,838.00	(for 6 years.)

Grand total to date..... $218,221.72

July 3, 1915.

AUGUSTUS H. LEIBERT, *Secretary.*

NOTE.—Four legacies have been received by the Society:

1789	Timothy Horsefield Legacy .....£ 25	($ 66.50)
1790	Matthew Graeff Legacy.....£100*	(26.85)
1815	Ferdinand Detmer Legacy.....£100	(266.67)
1893	"Maria Cornelia Schropp Fund".....	2000.00
	Total	$2360.02

* In the final settlement of Matthew Graeff's estate the full amount of his bequest was not realized.

HOPE SEMINARY IN 1868.
(Showing Principal's Home at the Right.)

ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

Moravian Historical Society,

SEPTEMBER 28, 1916.

The meeting was called to order at 10:15 a.m. by the President, the Rev. Wm. N. Schwarze, Ph.D. Seventeen members were present.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read, corrected and approved.

The name of the Summer House was changed to the Rest House.

The Treasurer's report was read and accepted. An abstract was ordered spread on the minutes.

Receipts	$ 592 21
Expenditures	400 82
Cash on Hand	191 39
Trust Funds	6139 28
Investments	6593 36

The Secretary's report was read and accepted.

The membership at present is 365—125 life members and 240 active and associate members, a gain of 17 over the preceding year. Nine members died during the year.

The Rest House has been completed during the year at a cost of $1275.90. About $400 of this amount was raised by subscription through the efforts of Messrs. E. J. Krause and W. H. Milchsack.

The Prize Essay Contest was discussed. Its purpose is to encourage young people in the study of the history of the Moravian Church. The working out of the plan was entrusted to the Secretary of the Society.

The question of raising the dues to $1.00 per year, so as to include the price of the vesper tickets, was, after some discussion, referred to the afternoon meeting for action.

The usual salaries were voted the Secretary-Treasurer and the Librarian.

Election of officers resulted in the re-election of the officers of the preceding year, Captain H. J. F. Reusswig, of Nazareth, Pa., succeeding the Rev. T. M. Rights as Secretary-Treasurer.

Adjournment.

HENRY J. F. REUSSWIG, *Secretary.*

AFTERNOON SESSION AND VESPER.

The meeting was called to order at 2:15 p.m. by the President.

After singing "What Praise to Thee, My Saviour," the usual vesper lunch followed.

The reports of the Secretary-Treasurer and Librarian were read.

The question of fixing the dues at $1.00 per year, so as to include the vesper tickets, was referred to the Graveyard Committee with power to act.

After some remarks by the President, the hymn "They With Patience Having Run" was sung in memory of the departed members.

The Rev. Augustus Schultze, D.D., President of Moravian College and Theological Seminary, read a paper on "The Hope Female Seminary."

After singing the hymn, "What Can We Offer Thee, O Lord," Bishop J. T. Hamilton, D.D., gave a sketch of "The Mythology of the Mosquito Indians."

At the call of the President, the Rev. James Robinson and the Rev. Jonathan Reineke addressed the Society briefly.

A rising vote of thanks was accorded the Graveyard Committee, Mr. E. J. Krause and Mr. W. H. Milchsack, for their zealous efforts in making the erection of the Rest House possible.

The singing of the benediction brought the annual meeting and vesper of 1916 to a close.

HENRY J. F. REUSSWIG, *Secretary.*

ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

Moravian Historical Society,

SEPTEMBER 23, 1915.

The business meeting was called to order at 10:15 a.m., with Vice-President E. J. Krause in the chair. Fourteen members were present.

The minutes of the 1914 meeting were read and approved. The Treasurer's report was accepted, ordered to be read at the afternoon session and an abstract spread on the minutes.

Receipts	$1708 51
Expenditures	1481 66
Cash on Hand	226 85
Investments	6388 75
Trust Funds	5890 22

The Secretary reported that three regular and two special meetings of the Executive Committee had been held. The matter of the Summer House was considered at several of the meetings and a plan, with specifications, had been secured from the architect.

The Librarian reported that 10 donations had been made to the Library. Brother John W. Jordan had the letters of Whitefield bound with additional letters secured and presented by him.

The Graveyard Committee had secured bids from two contractors relative to the Summer House. Plans were made to raise the additional amount needed by subscription.

An effort was made to secure a plot of ground where the Indian Congregation at Nain had been located.

The Secretary reported the membership as 348, 111 Life Members and 237 Associate and Active Members. H. T. Borhek and Miss Julia Crawford were made life members; Wm. A. Steinmiller, Oran C. Snyder, Mrs. Thos. W. Shields, Ferdinand Dennig, Mrs. Ellen Jennings, Rev. Wm. H. Vogler, Charles F. Beckel were added to the list of active members, and Harry W. Wilbur was elected as an associate member. Mrs. I. R. Mewaldt, Mary Henry Stites and Lydia Henry Stites were elected to life membership.

The project of the Summer House was discussed and left to the Executive Committee with power to act when the funds should be available.

On motion, the Secretary was authorized to cast a ballot for the re-election of former officers. On motion, the usual salaries were voted the Secretary-Treasurer and the Librarian.

T. M. RIGHTS, *Secretary.*

THE AFTERNOON SESSION AND VESPER.

The members were summoned to the meeting by the playing of Chorales by ten members of the Bethlehem trombone choir.

"What Praise to Thee" was sung, followed by the usual vesper lunch.

The list of deaths was read and the hymn, "They with patience having run," was sung in memory of members of the Society who departed this life during the year.

President Schwarze addressed the meeting.

General W. E. Doster spoke very entertainingly on "Glimpses of Old Bethlehem."

Miss Adelaide L. Fries, of Salem, N. C., read three chapters of an admirably written biography, "Henry Antes' Daughter," who had been an important person in the early history of the churches of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, and various congregations in North Carolina.

Judge Stewart expressed his appreciation of the work of the Society in arousing an interest in local history and of the State. Judge Brodhead, also. spoke briefly.

The Society and friends then adjourned to the lawn, where the stone marking the site of the First House in Nazareth was unveiled by the Misses Mary Henry Stites and Margaret A. Morris, great great granddaughters of Matthew Krause, who had at one time lived in the First House. The trombone choir of Bethlehem played chorales while members of the Society and friends were gathering about the stone marker and accompanied the singing of the hymns. The hymn "Remembering what our fathers told" was sung. The Rev. A. D. Thaeler read a paper on "The First House," prepared by Dr. A. G. Rau. The hymn "For all Thy saints'" was sung and the benediction was pronounced by the Rev. S. J. Blum, D.D. T. M. RIGHTS, *Secretary.*

A HISTORY

OF THE

Moravian Seminary for Young Ladies

HOPE, BARTHOLOMEW CO., INDIANA,

BY

THE REV. R. E. SHIELDS

In Memoriam.

THE REV. ALBERT L. OERTER.

Born September 18, 1837; died April 10, 1915. Joined the Society December 29, 1884. He contributed several papers and wrote the History of Graceham, Md., recently published by the Society, besides doing much general historical work of a valuable nature.

R. PAUL STOUT.

Born April 1, 1869; died August 25, 1915. Joined the Society September 22, 1910.

ROBT. E. M. SCHEEEBELI.

Born January 15, 1872; died October 21, 1914. Joined Society September, 1896.

MRS. A. O. STURGIS.

Born January 8, 1868; died March 27, 1915. Joined the Society September, 1910.

WILLIAM S. HERMANY.

Born December 1, 1866; died November 7, 1914. Joined the Society September, 1913.

THE REV. RICHARD CRITTENDEN.

Born June 10, 1831; died December 24, 1914. Joined the Society September, 1906.

MRS. CHARLES BRODHEAD.

Born October 22, 1835; died May 27, 1915. Joined the Society September, 1896.

WILLIAM V. KNAUSS.

Born June 7, 1846; died January 12, 1916. Joined the Society September, 1892.

I. A. Bachman, M.D.

Born May 27, 1863; died February 11, 1916. Joined the Society September, 1905.

Francis E. Luckenbach.

Born June 10, 1839; died April 8, 1916. Joined the Society 1867.

Mrs. A. H. Leibert.

Born February 22, 1857; died January 10, 1916. Joined the Society September, 1906.

Mrs. Caroline A. Giering.

Born September 20, 1830; died June 4, 1916. Joined the Society September, 1908.

Henry W. Rupp.

Born September 28, 1836; died January 19, 1916. Joined the Society September, 1896.

The Rev. W. H. Romig.

Born March 24, 1854; died January 26, 1916. Joined the Society September, 1912.

Maurice W. A. Jones.

Born ——————; died ——..————. Joined the Society in 1882.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY.

FIRST EDUCATIONAL EFFORTS AT HOPE.

Moravians and Education.

The Moravian Church or Unity of the Brethren has since its earliest days been prominent in education. In the first years of the Ancient Unitas Fratrum, free elementary schools were opened in all the villages in Bohemia, Moravia, and Poland where the Unity had parishes. As early as 1574 a school of higher learning had been established for the education of the ministry of the Church.

Largely through the influence of the great educator, John Amos Comenius, the educational traditions of the Ancient Unitas Fratrum were transmitted to the Renewed Church in Germany, giving to young men and young women alike those elements of culture which have been characteristic in the history of the Moravian Church for over four hundred years.

Naturally enough, when the Moravians settled in Georgia and Pennsylvania they made one of their first aims the education of the young. In 1742, the first school for girls was opened in Germantown, Pennsylvania, but was afterward moved to Bethlehem. Linden Hall Seminary for Girls was founded in 1746 at Lititz, Pennsylvania. During the next few years more than a dozen day schools were opened in Pennsylvania and elsewhere. It was the policy of the Moravian leaders to organize schools wherever they established a congregation. Later, on account of the French and Indian War and on account of the Revolutionary War, efforts were restricted to parochial and boarding schools in the settlement congregations. Yet during this critical period a boys' school was opened at Nazareth, Pennsylvania, and somewhat later the Salem Academy and College for Women and the Salem Boy's School were established at Salem, North Carolina. The Theological Seminary was established soon after the be-

ginning of the nineteenth century at Nazareth, Pennsylvania, and later was moved to Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.

As to educational conceptions and methods of the early Moravian schools, the following points are worthy of note:

(1) The personality of the teacher counted for much in securing the results of training given in the early period. These results were rich for both the individual and the community. They embodied forces which made noble contributions to all forms of American life. They were secured primarily by the richness of the character and eagerness of the service of the teachers. They emphasized the value and potency of the personality of the teacher in influencing the student.

(2) Education was regarded not as a thing to be sought for itself, but as a means to greater perfection of character. These schools aimed not simply at scholarship but at enlightened manhood and womanhood. They strove to develop symmetrically all the faculties of the student. They tried to refine, to enlarge the sympathies, fit for good citizenship, and render more easy the attainment of the birthright of the child of God.

(3) It was understood that education should render the youth thoroughly at home in the world, to the end that, recognizing opportunities, they should best serve their age. This imposed a double task upon the teachers. They had to teach the pupils to know facts and to grasp principles. They had, also, to discipline the mind that was to receive and use knowledge. They sought to develop native ability and preserve for use a reserve force governed by a well-trained mind. Experience taught these early Moravian educators the value of both the classics and science in the cultural development.

(4) It was realized that a liberal education must be a Christian education. To the mind of the early Moravian teachers there was no better system of education than that represented in the Christian home, the Christian school, the Christian academy, the Christian college to prepare for life and its various vocations. They insisted upon the development of both soul and body. The aim and end of their Christian training was to teach their charges to glorify God.*

*See Proceedings of the Moravian Educational Association. "Early Moravian Educational Effort in North America."—W. N. Schwarze, Ph.D.

PREFACE.

The History of the Moravian Seminary for Young Ladies at Hope, Bartholomew County, Indiana, holds much of interest in this year, Nineteen Hundred and Sixteen, as it has been fifty years since this Boarding School in the Middle West was founded, in good faith that it would continue to supply with higher education the young ladies of a section of the West, and that it would be an impetus to the religious, moral and educational life of the Moravian Church west of the Alleghenies. It is largely because of the writer's personal interest in the Seminary at Hope, because this is the Jubilee Anniversary, and because a history of this educational institution of the Church has never been compiled, that this historical sketch has been written.

We are indebted to the following sources for the material which has gone into this effort:

Minutes of the Provincial Elders' Conference.

The Congregational Diary of the Moravian Church at Hope.

The Moravian, the official organ of the Northern Province of the Moravian Church in America—for the years 1860 to 1884.

Proceedings of the Moravian Educational Association.

Journals of Provincial Synods, 1847-1884.

Proceedings of the Moravian Historical Society—"A Sketch of the Bethlehem Boarding School."

Catalogues of the Hope Moravian Seminary for years 1866-1881.

Programs of Entertainments given by the Moravian Seminary for Young Ladies, at Hope, collected by Mrs. Augustus (Addie Peter) Schultze, and deposited in the Archives of the Moravian Church at Bethlehem, Pa.

We are especially indebted to the following persons for valuable help and suggestions:

Mrs. Augustus (Addie Peter) Schultze, graduate and teacher in Hope Moravian Seminary.

Mrs. William Henry (Mary Holland) Rice, graduate and teacher in Hope Moravian Seminary.

Miss Adelaide C. Rominger, graduate and teacher in Hope Moravian Seminary, who copied Congregational Diary of the Moravian Church at Hope and offered suggestions.

The Rev. Jesse Blickensderfer, second principal of the Hope Moravian Seminary, and his efficient wife.

Mrs. Anna Holland Thrapp, teacher in Hope Moravian Seminary.

The Rev. William N. Schwarze, Ph.D., who gave suggestions and secured abstracts of the Minutes of the Provincial Elders' Conference.

We submit the following, with the hope that it may keep ever fresh in memory the value of an institution which accomplished great good and through timely influence of which many were led to consecrate their lives to the Kingdom of God, and influencing many more lives indirectly who still carry on the work bequeathed to them by a fruitful past.

With thanks to all who have helped to make this brief work possible, and a plea that it may be favorably received, the writer subscribes himself

RICHARD EDWIN SHIELDS.

Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, June 6, 1916.

ence, the Rev. Sylvester Wolle, made an extended visit to the Academy which had been started at Chaska, Minnesota, with an enrollment of sixty-two scholars and applications for admission coming in from time to time. It was expected that the enrollment would be at least one hundred the first year. This very encouraging state of affairs in the West probably induced the Provincial Elders' Conference to authorize the undertaking of the Hope project. The country as a whole was in a very unsettled state. The Civil War had retarded progress in many quarters. But it seems that during the period immediately following this war the schools of the North were prospering. It was during this period that the Young Ladies' Seminary at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, was most prosperous. It was paying large dividends on the investment. Nazareth Hall Military Academy was also in a thriving condition and paying dividends into the Sustentation Fund over and above the expenses of the school.

After some discussion, the Provincial Elders' Conference agreed to favor the project of turning the Hope day-school into a Boarding School, provided the people of Hope would make reasonable offers for its establishment. The following propositions were offered the Provincial Elders' Conference by the Hope Church Council, February 27, 1865:

I. That the Committee of the Church be authorized to transfer to the Provincial Elders' Confernce, at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, the so-called "school property" belonging to the congregation.

II. That the Provincial Elders' Conference establish a Boarding School in said school-house, organized upon the plan of Moravian Boarding Schools.

III. That in payment of said property, the Provincial Elders' Conference give to the Congregation at Hope, a bond calling for two thousand dollars, the interest of which, at six per cent., is to be paid annually, the bond itself becoming payable whenever the School project is abandoned by the Provincial Elders' Conference, and remit the two thousand dollars due to the Sustentation Fund by the Congregation at Hope.

IV. That the members of the Hope Congregation be privileged to send such of their children as are suitable for admission

into said Boarding School as day-scholars, for the sum of ——— dollars.*

In October, 1865, the Provincial Elders' Conference agreed to make the transfer and to appoint an inspector of the new school to be started at Hope. They resolved to appoint the Rev. Francis R. Holland, at that time the Vice-Principal of the Seminary for Young Ladies at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. On November 6, the Rev. F. R. Holland accepted the appointment as inspector of the new school at Hope "on condition that he is to receive the same support and stand in the same relation as the principals of our other Boarding Schools in the Province." The Rev. F. R. Holland came to this new work especially fitted for it. He had been a teacher, a missionary, an honored pastor, and in each of these spheres of activity had done efficient work. Those who knew him spoke of him as "an eloquent and forceful preacher." He was, by natural gifts, an educator. He loved study himself and inspired a love for it in the minds of others. He was pastor of the Salem, North Carolina, Congregation during the first years of the Civil War, but afterwards accepted the call to become Vice-Principal of the Young Ladies' Seminary at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. After three years in this position, he was appointed to take charge of the new project at Hope. With ripe experience, The Rev. F. R. Holland undertook the work, presenting to the Provincial Elders' Conference a plan for the enlargement of the school-buildings at Hope, and commenced operations immediately.

The newly-chosen Principal visited Hope in November, 1865, surveying the probable site of the new undertaking and preaching to large audiences at Hope and the out-station, Enon. The people were well pleased with the appointment and showed Principal Holland every courtesy. He returned to Bethlehem and remained in the East until he moved to Hope, with his family, immediately after Easter, 1866.

All arrangements were now under way. The power of attorney was drawn up for the Rev. F. R. Holland. All the rights to start the new project were handed to him by the Executive Board, placing full responsibility in his hands for the establishment of this school in the Middle West.

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*See Minutes of Provincial Elders' Conference, January 23, 1865.

Earliest Educational Efforts in Hope.

The Moravian congregation at Hope, Indiana, was organized June 17, 1830. The founders of this settlement had moved to Indiana from North Carolina and Pennsylvania. Soon after the organization of the church by the first settlers, the subject of education claimed their attention. They felt the need of a good school for their own children, and hoped by the establishment of an academy under parochial contral, not only to meet this need, but, also, to occupy a field of wider usefulness. They set apart forty acres of land for school purposes, and designated the spot, on which the Seminary was later erected, as the most suitable site for such buildings as might be started.

In the year 1841, under the pastorate of the Rev. H. J. Titze, the preliminary work was commenced. An acre of land was cleared on the heavily timbered school tract, where stood many noble specimens of white oak, elm, beech, walnut, and tulip-poplar trees which were then an incumbrance. After some materials for building had been collected and other labor performed, it became apparent that the time for the accomplishment of the design had not yet arrived. The efforts of the people to open farms and earn a living, together with various hindrances and privations incidental to a new settlement, compelled the postponement of the enterprise.

In December, 1856, under the pastorate of the Rev. E. P. Greider, the congregation resolved to sell a portion of the land "for the purpose of establishing a first-class day school, which is designed ultimately to be converted into a Female Boarding School." From the record it appears that it was the intention of the Church Council as "soon as circumstances prove favorable for changing this day school into a boarding school," to place it under the auspices and control of the Synod, or its Executive Board. By the end of the year 1858, there had been erected a two-story brick building, fifty feet by thirty feet, for the school. A dwelling house, also of brick, thirty feet by thirty-two feet and two stories in height, had been erected for the principal.

These buildings were situated across the road from the second church-building, which had been erected some time before in order to house the growing congregation. The land was very fertile, the farmers industrious and in twenty-five years the

community had grown prosperous. They had placed the school on rising ground overlooking the broad campus, while to the rear stretched the farm which was to help support the project soon to be launched.

J. Henry Kluge accepted the appointment to take charge of the institution. He was an experienced teacher and had been Superintendent of the Public Schools in Lebanon County, Pennsylvania. He arrived in Hope, with his family, on January 8, 1859. He immediately entered into the life of the congregation by presiding at the organ in a "masterly manner."

Opening of Day-School.

January 24, 1859, marked the opening day of the new Moravian day-school. The school was opened with appropriate religious exercises. The pastor and Superintendent welcomed the students, of which forty-three were present. The prospects for success were bright. The entire community showed its interest in the undertaking and the people thanked the Lord for providing them with this means of education for their children. They hoped that the tone of the school would produce results which would insure religious, moral, intellectual and physical development of the students.

In this form the school continued until the following year, 1860, when it was agreed to establish a school for girls only. This was opened April 23, with an enrollment of twelve scholars. The teachers were the Misses Adelaide Chitty and Cassandra Coleman. This arrangement continued for some time. The Rev. E. P. Greider was succeeded as pastor of the congregation by the Rev. H. C. Bachman, who in turn was succeeded by the Rev. E. T. Senseman, in October, 1864.

During the pastorate of the Rev. E. T. Senseman, preliminary steps were taken for the revival of the idea of establishing the Young Ladies' Seminary. In the previous year, the Rev. J. C. Jacobson, a member of the Provincial Elders' Conference of the Northern Province of the Moravian Church in the United States, had made an official visit to Hope. He reported "a good state of affairs in this congregation." Two delegates from Hope to the Synod of 1864 held a joint meeting with the Provincial Elders' Conference and presented the needs of the congregation. Meanwhile, another member of the Provincial Elders' Confer-

The sudden death of the Pastor at Hope, the Rev. E. T. Senseman, brought about a change in the pastorate. The Rev. W. L. Lennert succeeded him. Thus the new pastor of the Hope congregation and the Principal of the contemplated Seminary arrived to take up their respective spheres of work in the community at about the same time. In May, the Rev. F. R. Holland and family arrived from Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, in order to commence work immediately on the erection of the additional building needed for the school. The grounds were far from beautiful. No campus had been cleared, and much preliminary work in this direction was required before opening.

Such were the beginnings of Hope Seminary. The interest of the entire community was centered in this new enterprise, for it was to bring education to their own children, and it would secure an influx of students from neighboring States and Territories, adding new life to the small village and placing Hope in the front rank of educational effort in the life of the State.

CHAPTER II.

ESTABLISHMENT AND FIRST YEARS.
1866-1868.

Preparatory Work.

The work to which the Executive Board of the Northern Province of the Moravian Church in America had called the Rev. F. R. Holland was calculated to bring forth permanent results. The location of Hope, forty-five miles south of Indianapolis, in the fertile undulating country which had supported the settlers for over thirty years, was close to the center of the activities of the State. The place was easily accessible.*

The weather was mild at all seasons of the year. The climate was wholesome for a continued stay at the institution, and in every way the school had prospects for a bright future. The coöperation between the community and the school promised hearty support on the part of the village in the undertaking. The congregation was intensely interested, and aided in every way possible to insure its success.

The new Principal lost no time in beginning work for the contemplated institution. During the second week in May, word was received at Bethlehem stating that building operations were in active progress. A large basement was first dug out. After this bricks were burned for the three-story building, which was located between the original school-house on the North and the Principal's home on the South. At the same time, Mr. Holland began the beautifying of the surroundings. He was deeply interested in Botany and secured the best in plant-life for the

*The nearest railroad station was St. Louis Crossing, five miles distant, on the Cambridge Branch of the Jeffersonville, Madison and Indianapolis Railroad. There was bus-connection between this station and Hope. There was also bus-connection with the city of Columbus, fifteen miles distant, and with Greensburg, eighteen miles distant.

adornment of the campus. Maples, pines, cedars, locusts and many other specimens of trees dotted the gentle slope toward the street. A long, broad stone walk was laid from the street to the main entrance. Beds, filled with the finest flowers obtainable, were located here and there on the front campus, and a fine gravel carriage-drive formed an oval around it. No labor was spared in making the grounds attractive. The school became noted for the growth of beautiful plants, both on the exterior and interior, for, later, Principal Holland built a hothouse in which were raised flowers for all occasions, and which was used to great advantage in the study of Botany, for hotbeds and as vegetable garden.

During June, a measurement of the land belonging to the school was made, and proved to be in excess of sixteen acres. This stretched out far to the rear of the building, and was used during the life of the institution for supplying the table with vegetables, grain and fowl. An estimate was made of the entire cost of enlargement at this time. It amounted to about ten thousand dollars.

The summer and autumn of 1866 saw the completion of the enlargement of the buildings. The estimated cost was over twenty thousand dollars. By September, the buildings were in shape for internal work. The class-rooms were equipped with desks, the halls were furnished, the sleeping apartments—after the fashion of the older boarding schools—were arranged in the form of room-company dormitories. The school chapel was supplied with seats and musical instruments. Everything was secured which would attract students and give the institution high standing as to equipment as well as scholarship. All of the rooms were spacious, convenient and comfortable. The grounds afforded ample and pleasant opportunity for recreation and relief from unnecessary restraint or unpleasant intrusion.

In October two lady-teachers arrived to take their places on the faculty of the Hope Seminary for Young Ladies.* This was the busiest season for the Principal and family and the teachers. Preparation was being made to receive students. The Principal advertised in all the leading newspapers of Indiana and the

*The Misses L. Brietz and Olivia Warner, the former from Salem, North Carolina, and the latter from Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.

surrounding States. Mrs. Holland was in charge of the household affairs and continued to look after the domestic interests of the school during her husband's administration. During October and November, the finishing touches were given to the interior of the building and all preparations for the opening of the institution were completed under the personal supervision of the Principal. On November the seventeenth a gentleman from Sharon, Ohio, brought his own daughter and another student to the Seminary.* These were the first two boarders to arrive at the school.

Opening of the Institution.

The day for the opening of the new Moravian Boarding School in the Middle West had arrived. On November 19, 1866, there assembled in the school chapel two boarders and fifteen of the local pupils, Principal Holland and family, Pastor W. L. Lennert of the Hope Congregation, teachers, and workmen who were still busy finishing the building. Rain prevented the remainder of the twenty-five local applicants from attending the opening exercises. Pastor Lennert led the services. A hymn was sung, after which the Dedicatory Prayer was offered, all kneeling. The Rev. W. L. Lennert delivered the opening address, welcoming the students and referring to the prospects of the institution. Principal Holland followed with some well-chosen remarks and explanations concerning the school life and methods which would be employed in the conduct of the school. Again, hymns were sung, following which the Doxology closed the opening services of the Moravian Seminary for Young Ladies at Hope, Indiana.†

Plan of the Institution.

The school work began immediately. The students were divided, according to their several attainments, into classes. It took some time for the household to be organized and managed successfully, but the experience gained from the supervision of the Bethlehem Boarding School gave the Principal the scheme of organization. Room-companies were formed. Teachers were

*The Misses Cornelia Blickensderfer and Lucy McMurray.

† See Hope Congregation Diary for November 19, 1866.

with the students at all hours of the day. The teachers slept in the dormitories with the students. Two girls were assigned to each other as "chums." In this way they marched to their meals, to their classes, to morning and evening chapel exercises; they kept each other company in retiring and when taking walks for exercise or going to Church, and usually became attached to each other as "chums" for life. Two girls were together, therefore, almost continuously with the exception of the time when either might be assigned to the task of "day-keeper." The task of the "day-keeper" was to replenish the fire with wood in the free noon-hour, trim and clean the lamps, and cover the fire carefully with ashes in order to have a fine bed of coals next morning when the maid removed the ashes and started the fire.* After the students and teachers had retired for the night, the "day-keepers" swept and dusted the study rooms. It was the duty of the maids to sweep and dust "the next room," where each girl in the room-company shared a wardrobe with her "chum."

The plan of the school was that of one large household, the Principal and his wife having parental supervision over all the scholars. Naturally enough, the many gifts and accomplishments of the wife of the Principal found abundant opportunity for expression. First of all, she was the directress of the household. In this capacity all the details pertaining to the work and care of any large household fell to the lot of the Principal's wife. She superintended the work of the kitchen force, looked after the provisions for the school and attended to the laundry of the students and the household linen, and in many other respects directed the life of the school, personally overseeing the household affairs. She also taught vocal music, drawing, and ornamental needlework. Thus the Seminary was made a real home school. The Principal and his family shared the common dining-room, this custom being started at the Hope Seminary as early as at any other of the Moravian Boarding Schools, if not earlier. This added greatly to the family feeling of the school-home.

*The school was supplied with huge galvanized iron stoves, in which wood was burned, and the heat was radiated by means of large drums. They were an object of special interest to all the new students and were well calculated to heat every nook and corner of the large rooms.

The Principal acted as the father of the household. To him the pupils went with their troubles and doubts. Many difficulties were solved by the intimate relationship which the leader of the school cultivated with the students. Often Principal Holland would be seen walking with one or another of the scholars, in earnest conversation regarding the work and welfare of the one in difficulty. Thus the influence of the head of the institution was felt in the individual lives of those under the care of the school. Smaller girls as well as older students shared the counsel of the Principal. Anything which affected the life of the scholars was regarded as important enough to require the attention of the *Hausvater*.

The teaching force during the first year, 1866, was composed of the Principal, the Rev. F. R. Holland, Mrs. A. E. Holland, and the Misses L. S. Brietz, O. S. Warner and Charlotte Prince.* Principal Holland undertook all the more advanced work, such as History, Literature, Astronomy, Botany, Chemistry, Geology, Natural Philosophy, and Christian Evidences. Mrs. Holland taught Vocal Music, Drawing, Painting and Ornamental Needlework. The tutoresses cared for the remainder of the subjects, such as Latin, French, German, English, Rhetoric, Geography, Instrumental Music and other branches.

The Board of Trustees, during these first years, was composed of members of the Provincial Elders' Conference of the Northern Province of the Moravian Church in the United States. They were the Rev. Robert de Schweinitz, the Rev. Sylvester Wolle, and the Rev. Lewis F. Kampmann.

First Semester.

Several boarding pupils arrived during the first semester of the work of the institution. As the school became better known and the advertisements were sent abroad in the daily papers, parents learned of the work of the newly established institution and sought to find entrance for their children. A number were transferred from some of the other Boarding Schools of the Church, this adding to the enrollment during these initial years.

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*Miss C. Prince arrived March 16, 1867, from Missouri.

Two events happened in the first year of the institution which are worthy of note. The first was the establishment of the weekly paper in the village of Hope by a retired Methodist clergyman. Called *The Watchman*, it reflected the life of the community and of the Seminary, both to the people of the village and to the parents whose children were being cared for in the school.

The other event, which illustrates how this as well as other Boarding Schools of the Moravian Church furnished well-trained workers for the mission fields of the Church, was the marriage of the Rev. Samuel Lichtenthaeler, of the West Indies, to one of the Seminary pupils, Miss Marie L. Gruhl. The students of the Seminary strewed the bridal path of their schoolmate with blossoms after the missionary and his bride had been joined in the bonds of matrimony. The couple left for their work amid the heartiest congratulations of the pupils and townspeople.*

The first year of work of the Hope Moravian Seminary for Young Ladies continued to its close with marked success. On July 10, 1867, an entertainment was given by the students, exhibiting to the public some of the accomplishments of the first year of work. It consisted of a musical and literary program. There was, also, a display of work which had been done in the domestic arts course, which attracted wide attention. Many visitors from the surrounding cities and country were present, showing an increasing interest in this new institution of the Middle West. The program is here incorporated in full, as a sample of the fine work done both in the literary and the musical line, under the general direction of Mrs. Holland. Among the features of interest are the length of the entertainment and the selections made, showing the admirable taste of the musical department of the institution.

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*In June, 1867, the work of the school was interrupted by the death of the mother of Mrs. Holland. She was taken to Bethlehem, Pa., and laid to rest. During the absence of Principal and Mrs. Holland, Pastor Lennert took charge of the chapel services and Miss Mary Holland looked after the household duties usually superintended by Mrs. Holland.

PROGRAMME.

CHORUS—"Daughters of Israel," From "David".....*Newkomm*

PIANO DUET—"Overture to the Caliph of Bagdad."
Mollie Eaton, Olney, Ill.
Mary Keehln, Hope, Ind.

RECITATION—"The Talkative Girl."
Ella Spaugh, Hope, Ind.

SONG—"The Bridge".....*Lindsay*
Susie Toner, Edinburg, Ind.

PIANO FORTE—"Wandering Sprite".....*Englebrecht*
Alice Jones, Greencastle, Ind.

GERMAN DIALOGUE.
Lucy McMurray, Tuscarawas, Ohio.
Mollie Schweitzer, Shelbyville, Ind.

PIANO—"Four Bells Polka".....*T. J. Cooke*
Mary Kent, Hope, Ind.

SOLO AND CHORUS FOR FEMALE VOICES—"La Carita".....*Rossini*

RECITATION—"The Gouty Merchant and the Stranger."
Mollie Eaton, Olney, Ill.

PIANO FORTE—"Il Desiderio".....*Cramer*
Cornelia Blickensderfer, Tuscarawas, Ohio.

GERMAN SONG—"Mutterseelen Allein".....*Abt*
Betty Hinman, Columbus, Ind.

RECITATION—"German Watchman's Song."
By Five Young Ladies.

PIANO FORTE TRIO—"Air Suisse".....*Czerny*
Addie Rominger, Franklin, Ind.
Emma Uecke, Green Bay, Wis.
Mollie Schweitzer, Shelbyville, Ind.

SONG—"The Old Boat".....*Wm. Suffern*
Lucy McMurray, Tuscarawas, Ohio.
Cornelia Blickensderfer, Tuscarawas, Ohio.
Addie Rominger, Franklin, Ind.

RECITATION—"The Toast."
Susie Toner, Edinburg, Ind.

PIANO DUET—From "Lucia di Lammermoor".....Arranged by *Getze*
Betty Hinman, Columbus, Ind.
Alice Jones, Greencastle, Ind.

RECITATION—"The Best Dress."
Mollie Schweitzer, Shelbyville, Ind.

PIANO FORTE—"The White Rose Polka".....*J. Becht*
Mary Spaugh, Hope, Ind.

DIALOGUE—"The Rockville Petition."

SONG—"The Nightingale's Trill."
Hebe Gower, Iowa City, Iowa.
GERMAN RECITATION—"Die Bürgschaft".....*Schiller*
Emma Gruhl, Hope, Ind.
PIANO FORTE—"Mazourka Elegante".....*Kinkle*
Mary Keehln, Hope, Ind.
CHORUS FOR FEMALE VOICES—"Hymne du Soir".....*Concome*
GERMAN RECITATION—"Das Kind Im Garten."
Addie Rominger, Franklin, Ind.
SONG—"Thou Art So Near and Yet So Far".....*Reichard*
Alice Jones, Greencastle, Ind.
FRENCH RECITATION—"La Pauvre Fille Aveugle."
Hebe Gower, Iowa City, Iowa.
DIALOGUE—"Vacation Time."
Harriet Fishel, Hope, Ind.
Dora Diltz, Hope, Ind.
PIANO—"Love in May".....*Oesten*
Susie Toner, Edinburg, Ind.
RECITATION—"The Foot's Complaint."
Mary White, Hope, Ind.
PIANO DUET—"Overture to Zampa".....*Herold*
Hebe Gower, Iowa City, Iowa.
Mary Holland, Hope, Ind.
RECITATION—"Hagar in the Wilderness."
Lucy McMurray, Tuscarawas, Ohio.
CHORUS—"Hallelujah" .....*Händel*

Thus the first year of life of the institution had come to a happy close, with gratifying evidences of the good work accomplished and the satisfying assurance that the future was to witness even more efficient work and better results under the competent leadership of the untiring Principal and his corps of workers.

The report which Principal Holland made to the Synod of 1867, held at Lititz, Pa., May 22-31, breathes a spirit of optimism and encouragement for the prospects of this institution, which was founded in the belief that it would be supported by the Church, and the conviction that there was need of such a school for young ladies in the Middle West, which was growing so rapidly in these early years of nation-wide prosperity. He said: "Praise is due to God for the protection afforded and for the success with which our efforts thus far in the direction of suit-

able buildings and in the organization of the school have been crowned. We have often been burdened with anxieties and during the time of building more especially beset with perplexities, but to the praise of His name we can say that He has often interposed most evidently to help us just when we felt most in need of wisdom and strength and grace.....Though the expenses considerably exceed our expectations, it is found, that in comparing them with those incurred in the erection of buildings of similar material and style in neighboring cities and towns, they are considerably below the average, while for strength, solidity and durability, it is believed that our work will compare favorably with that of others. When the rooms of the building are prepared for their intended use, there will be ample space and convenience for from eighty to one hundred pupils. The number of scholars in attendance during the present session is fifty, of whom eight are boarders. From the present indications we are led to look for a considerable increase of scholars next session and we hope and believe, that the Church will be no loser by the enterprise. The pupils have shown a commendable spirit and have rapidly improved in their studies. We have reason to know that the religious exercises and instructions have not been without good fruit; and we bless the Lord especially for this token of His gracious favor."

Vacation and Re-opening, 1867-1868.

Principal Holland urged upon the Provincial Elders' Conference the necessity of having the buildings of the institution insured during the summer of 1867, but, as the financial conditions were not the most promising, it was deemed wise not to take that step at once. The Rev. Sylvester Wolle was delegated to look into the affairs and the domestic arrangements of the Female Boarding School at Hope by his colleagues of the Provincial Elders' Conference. They felt it unwise to issue any further loans until after they were assured of the success of the new enterprise. This was in August of 1867. In September of the same year, the Rev. S. Wolle reported to the Provincial Elders Conference that according to his recent investigations into the affairs and prospects of the new school at Hope, thirty

*See Journal of Synod, 1867.

boarders ought to cover all the current expenses of that institution.*

Second Annual Session.

Everything was made ready for the re-opening of the school for the second year's work. The Principal had been busy during the summer months getting all the domestic arrangements ready for receiving new pupils. The campus was again green and beautiful. The grounds were put into such shape as would make the institution attractive. New teachers arrived in August and September to take up their duties as tutoresses in the school, and the entire force of teachers was kept busy, arranging all of the rooms and appointments for the reception of the new applicants for admission. The applications had been numerous, and all prospects were promising for another successful year of school life.

Whereas the school opened in 1866 with two boarders and twenty day-scholars, this year, 1867, the first anniversary, witnessed the opening with twenty-eight boarders and thirty day-pupils! The re-opening was celebrated in connection with a fine supper, guests being present. Verily, the life of the institution had grown during one year until the *esprit de corps* reminded one of the life of any larger institution. The Seminary was taking on a character of usefulness which has never been forgotten.

The teaching force had been enlarged to accommodate the needs of the growing institution. It consisted of the Principal, his able wife, and the Misses Charlotte Prince, Sabina H. Wolle, Esther W. Rondthaler, Cornelia S. Bleck, Mary E. Holland, and Madame Marie S. Wirth. With the exception of the language teacher, Madame Wirth, all of these teachers had had exceptional training either in the Boarding School at Bethlehem or in the Salem Academy for Women.

Before the close of the school for the Christmas Holidays, December 19, 1867, a concert of very fine quality was given. The program shows with what skill and care the selections were made. It consisted of selections on the piano, duets, recitations and vocal work. Such composers as Mozart, Beethoven, Weber, Mendelssohn, and Haydn were represented on the program.

*See Minutes of Provincial Elders' Conference for September, 1867.

The attendance was good, many of the people of the village considering it a rare treat to be present at this well-rendered concert in the Seminary Chapel. Students from nine states took part in the rendition.

Immediately after the holidays, on January 11, 1868, the scholars gave another concert for the benefit of the sufferers on the island of St. Thomas, Danish West Indies. It seems that there had been a hurricane, which swept away many of the dwellings and buildings belonging to the work of the Moravian missionaries stationed on that island. The house was crowded to its utmost capacity, and the results were very satisfactory. The concert was of the same general character as the two previous attempts.

Principal Holland sent in a statement of the finances of the previous year to the Provincial Elders' Conference, which showed that the school was in a flourishing condition. He mentioned that they were expecting more students soon and that the general outlook was very hopeful for the second semester of that year.*

Another event which happened during the second year of the life of the institution is worthy of special note, as showing the effect which the careful training and influence of the Principal and teachers had upon the lives of the young ladies who were under their control. On March 1, 1867, a solemn service was conducted in the Hope Church when one of the Seminary students, upon confession of faith in Jesus Christ, was received into the fellowship of the Moravian Church. The Rev. F. R. Holland confirmed the young lady.†

Palm Sunday, April 5, 1868, was, also, a day of remembrance as a number of the day-pupils as well as boarders of the Young Ladies' Seminary were baptized and confirmed in the Hope Congregation.

All were pleased with the success of the second school year. The closing musical entertainment was given in the Seminary Chapel, July 8, with a large audience of patrons and the general public. It is particularly striking that the audience sat from

*See Minutes of Provincial Elders' Conference for 1868.

†Miss Hebe Gower, of Iowa City, Iowa.

ten-thirty o'clock in the morning to two-thirty o'clock in the afternoon listening to this rendition. The program consisted of selections from composers such as Gounod, Beyer, Weber, Leybach, Hoffman, Rossini, Bellini, Mendelssohn and Beethoven. The recitations were given largely in French and German, which added to the attractiveness and uniqueness of the program. The chorus work was well-rendered under the direction of the able head of the music department of the institution.*

All of the students, with the exception of a very few, who spent the summer vacation in the building, went home. The number who remained were under the care of the Principal and his wife.

Under date of July 10, the Rev. Holland offered "a plan for obtaining an endowment fund for scientific purposes," from old friends of the institution in Bartholomew County, Indiana. The Provincial Elders' Conference had no objections to this scheme.†

At the Provincial Synod of the Northern Province of the Moravian Church in America, convened at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, November 18-27, 1868, the Rev. F. R. Holland offered a report of the work of the new institution at Hope. It was introduced by the Committee on Educational Institutions in this manner: "We are happy to say that the prospects for the building up of this young institution are very promising, and we have no doubt that its Principal, Brother Francis R. Holland, will, with the blessing of God, succeed in establishing its reputation and patronage on a firm basis." The Principal's report follows, verbatim: "Just two years ago, on the 19th of November, 1866, this school was opened with two boarders and fourteen day-scholars; now, it has forty-one boarders and twenty-one day-scholars. Then the building was far from complete, now it is handsomely finished, properly furnished, and occupied in nearly every part. Thus its past success gives encouraging hope for the future. Although the unavoidable expense of commencing such an establishment has entailed a capital debt of thirty thousand dollars, which is a heavy burden for a new institution to bear—to lighten which we have, with the approval of the Advisory Finance Committee, dropped the interest on this

*See Program for July 8, 1868.

†See Minutes of Provincial Elders' Conference for 1868.

amount for one year entirely, and it is proposed to charge but three per cent. for the coming year; thereafter, however, the full amount—yet even in a financial point of view this enterprise may be regarded as hopeful, for with the prosperity of the future but measurably conformable to that thus far bestowed, it will not only be able to sustain itself, but will eventually become a source of profit to the Church."*

The establishment and first years of the work of the Moravian Boarding School for Young Ladies at Hope had been a success, and the future was promising. Nothing serious had occurred to hinder the continued existence of the institution, while all things pointed to results which would be more encouraging in the next few years of the life of the institution. The selection of the teachers had been of the best. They had the love and esteem of the pupils and the harmony of the school-life could not have been better. Naturally, many little annoyances had arisen during these first years, but with patience and perseverance these were overcome by the able Principal. If advertising and good reputation could accomplish anything, the future of the institution looked very bright. The number of applicants for admission had been steadily increasing, and in view of the fact that the building afforded accommodations for a greater number of boarders, these students were gladly accepted. The next few years will go down in history as the brightest for the institution and for the community of Hope.

*Journal of Synod, 1868.

CHAPTER III.

EIGHT YEARS OF PROSPERITY.
1868-1876.

Third Year and Fifty Boarders.

The first printed catalogue of the new Boarding School at Hope was issued during the third year of the life of the school. It contains all the usual information which is looked for in any catalogue of an institution. The annual session or academic year was divided, from the very beginning, into three terms. The first term of the session began September the first and closed December 22. The second term opened January 3 and closed March 31. The third term commenced April 1 and closed June 29. Pupils were allowed to remain over the Christmas vacation, but a moderate charge was made for those remaining during the summer vacation. Pupils were admitted at any time during either of these three terms, payment being apportioned according to the time of their entrance upon their work. This scheme of dividing the school year into three terms lasted until 1870, when new arrangements were made.

The charges for these first years were as follows:

For Board, Washing, and Tuition in all English Branches.

First Term	$75.00
Second Term	$60.00
Third Term	$60.00

Extra Branches.

Tuition on Piano (two lessons per week) per term of three months	$10.00
Tuition on Piano (three lessons per week)	$15.00
Special Instruction in Vocal Music (two lessons per week)	$10.00
Tuition in French, German or Latin	$ 6.00
Tuition in Drawing, in Pencil and Crayon; and Painting in Water Colors	$ 5.00
Ornamental Needlework, in Worsted, Chenille, etc.	$3.00*

*As the first term was longer than the other two the charges were proportionately more.

Third Year.

The third year opened September 1, 1868, with the customary opening exercises. Twenty-six boarders entered during these first days. All the routine work of the school life was begun and the year appeared to offer opportunities of unusual interest in many ways. Now that the ill-effects of the Civil War were passing, the outlook seemed especially good for this year of work.

The scholastic instruction during these first years, according to the catalogues, was as follows:

The arrangement of the pupils into classes is entirely distinct from their distribution into room-companies, being based simply upon their ability and proficiency, as is the case in all other Moravian Boarding Schools. The pupil attends that class in each particular branch of study to which she belongs by proficiency, and is advanced according to her progress in each study separately. The division of the pupils into small classes is an essential feature of the Moravian system, making it possible to maintain a regular gradation, and securing to each pupil a large amount of individual attention. No lesson exceeds fifty-five minutes in duration, nor is the learner confined to one spot for a longer time.

In every case, a thorough and systematic study of those branches that constitute a solid English education is held to be indispensable. Without this no permanently satisfactory results can be obtained. The Principal retains the power of deciding which of these studies, if any, may be dropped by the student.

In connection with the English studies, the following extra or optional branches are taught:

(1) Languages.—The Latin, studies with special reference to grammatical structure and its relation to English. French and German, taught very thoroughly and care taken to secure a correct pronunciation. In addition to Grammatical Exercises, Compositions and Translations, the classes meet daily with their teacher for the purpose of conversing in one or the other of the two latter languages.

(2) Music.—Instrumental and Vocal, is taught by thoroughly qualified instructors. The "trashy"music of the day meets with no favor. Instead of this, the study of the great masters is kept before the pupil with a view to the development of a correct and

appreciative taste. The cultivation of the voice after the most approved method, receives special attention.

(3) Drawing of landscapes, flowers, etc., in pencil; Painting, in water colors; and Ornamental Needlework of various kinds are taught with skill and taste.*

Besides the regulations governing the life of the pupils while in attendance at the Seminary, the following general rules were observed. We quote freely from sources:

In dress, neatness and simplicity will be enjoined upon all; and no expensive or extravagant habits will be permitted. Each pupil should come furnished with a goodly supply of seasonable clothing, every article plainly and indelibly marked with the owner's name in full.

The Institution supplies all table linen, furniture, bedding, etc., and the scholars are required to bring with them only table napkins, and whatever belongs to the toilet, such as towels, etc. In the outfit, a pair of thick-soled walking shoes, overshoes and umbrella should not be forgotten.

The young ladies will be required, as far as possible, to keep their own wardrobes in repair and will spend some hours every week in plain sewing, which, in case of the younger pupils, will constitute a regular branch of instruction. Parents should furnish their daughters with some material, or work that they may have the full benefit of these hours. Teachers take charge of the clothing of the younger pupils.

No bills will be contracted for pupils. Money sufficient to pay for articles required (such as shoes, clothing, books, stationery,

*The text-books used during these years are as follows: Sanders' Speller and Readers; Robinson's Arithmetic; Robinson's Algebra; Quackenbos' Grammar; Quackenbos' Rhetoric; Mitchel's Geographies; Fitch's Physical Geography; Quackenbos' History of the United States; Willson's Outlines of History; Spalding's English; Hitchcock's Physiology; Gray's Structural and Systematic Botany; and Manual; Mattison's Astronomy; Haven's Moral Philosophy; Alexander's Evidences of Christianity; In Latin: Bullion's Grammar and Reader, Ovid. In French: Fasquelle's Course; Telemaque; Lamartines Voyage en Orient, Corinne, etc. In German: Sander's First Reader, English and German on alternate pages; Stamm's Lesebuch; Eichhorn's Grammar, Adler's Reader, etc. Quackenbos' Natural Philosophy belonged to the regular course. Chemistry, Geology and Natural History were added to the regular course in 1869.—Catalogue of Hope Seminary, 1868-69. Pages 11, 12.

etc.,) must be left with the Principal. All purchases will be made by competent persons.

The correspondence of the pupils must pass through the hands of the Principal or his wife, and when considered necessary or advisable, is subject to inspection. This regulation will never be exercised so as to interfere with free communication with all proper parties.*

On December 22, the final musical and literary entertainment was given immediately before the Christmas holidays. From the program it appears that this was much the same as the concerts which had been given previously. Many of the people from the village were present, and the entire production was one of those rare treats which is long remembered in the life of a small community. The music represented selections from some of the masters of music, none of the popular music of the day is to be found on the program. The recitations always aroused much interest as the scholars usually gave some in French and German with a very fine pronunciation of those two foreign tongues. Two choruses were rendered with telling effect, the first from "Moses in Egypt," Rossini, and the second from Handel, "For Unto Us a Child is Born."

Several events of interest happened during the second term of school in 1869. Whenever a new boarder arrived there was usually great rejoicing and perhaps a special meal in recognition of the event. On Washington's Birthday of this year, a new boarder† arrived, making the total of fifty boarders now in attendance at the Seminary! The event was marked on the next day by a banquet, the main dish being roast turkey.

A second event which touched the life of the institution as well as the life of the whole nation was the inauguration of General Ulysses S. Grant as President of the United States, March 4, 1868. A very fine chicken dinner was served in honor of the occasion and formed one of the happy incidents for the scholars at the Seminary.

In February, 1869, Principal Holland proposed to the Provincial Elders' Conference that the Rev. Sylvester Wolle should

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*Catalogue of Hope Seminary, 1868-1869. Pages 13, 14.

†Miss Louisa Nauman, of Hope, Indiana.

come to Hope and take charge of the institution during the absence of the Principal, who had been chosen as a delegate from the American Province of the Moravian Church to the General Synod held at Herrnhut, Germany, in the late spring of 1869. The Provincial Elders' Conference consented to this arrangement. The financial statement sent in, at this time, showed a surplus of $1098.32 over and above the running expenses of the institution at Hope. This was very gratifying to the authorities.*

Another event of importance which caused a stir over the entire United States was the completion of the first transcontinental railway, the Union Pacific Railroad. This was noted at the Seminary, and a special dinner was served in honor of this event.

On May 3, 1869, the Rev. F. R. Holland left Hope for New York City to take vessel for Bremen, to attend the General Synod of the Moravian Church, held in Herrnhut, Germany. And on June 4, the Rev. Sylvester Wolle,† one of the Trustees of the Seminary, took up the work of the school in the absence of Principal Holland.

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*See Minutes of Provincial Elders' Conference, February 9 and March 2, 1869.

†The Rev. Sylvester Wolle was born in Nazareth, Pa., March 1, 1816. In 1830, after finishing his early training in Bethlehem, Pa., he entered the "preparatory department" of the Theological Seminary at Nazareth. After completing his course, he taught at Nazareth Hall Military Academy for five years. He was ordained October 24, 1839, a Deacon of the Church at Schoeneck, Pa. Mr. Wolle served the congregation at Gnadenhuetten, Ohio, for ten years and was, then, made Principal of the Young Ladies' Boarding School at Bethlehem, Pa. He attended the General Synod of the Church during a period of a change in the Church's polity and advocated the division of the Church into Provinces, as did several other delegates. In 1861 he was elected a member of the Provincial Elders' Conference. Again, in 1873, he was elected a third time to this position. But, owing to ill health, he never took up his third term for, on August 28, 1873, he died. His ministry was distinguished by strong faith, aggressive zeal and enlarged views of the mission of the Moravian Church. As a member of the Provincial Board, he took an active interest in the Church's publications and, also, in the Theological Seminary. His interest in the Hope Seminary for Young Ladies was strong and much of the success of that institution is due to Mr. Wolle's sympathetic interest. He served as a trustee of this institution from 1866 to 1873.—*The Moravian*, 1873.

The close of the school year came on July 7. The musical entertainment was given in the Church of the village and attracted a large crowd of visitors. At the west end of the Church, facing the audience, an elevated platform had been erected, upon which sat about eighty pupils with their teachers. The galleries at either end were artistically decorated with beautiful paintings and drawings. Elegant specimens of needlework were, also, in evidence. Flowers graced the pulpit and the entire edifice was tastefully decorated by the students. The description of this musical entertainment is especially interesting, because it was given by a stranger and is therefore worth mentioning for it shows from an impartial view-point an estimate of the success of the institution. The feeling was strong that the success of the youthful institution was assured beyond a shadow of doubt, and this feeling was confirmed by the excellence of all the parts of the entertainment, vocal, instrumental, and rhetorical. Everything gave evidence of thorough training and faithfulness and painstaking care on the part of the Principal and his able corps of teachers. In consequence of the absence of Principal Holland, the Rev. Sylvester Wolle presided. Pastor Lennert opened the entertainment with a brief devotional period, after which there was rendered one of the finest entertainments which the Seminary had ever given. All of the selections showed that no time had been spared in the work of preparation, and this was remarked by the impartial observer. The Rev. Sylvester Wolle closed the program with some pertinent remarks concerning the success of this entertainment and the work of the school and gave the students a loving message from the absent Principal, after which the singing of the hymn, "Sing Hallelujah, Praise the Lord," closed the exercises of the third successive year of the institution.*

The Rev. F. R. Holland reached home from Europe on the evening of August 31. The same evening a number of teachers and students arrived for the re-opening of the Seminary. On September 1, the school opened for the fourth year of its existence with appropriate exercises. Everything bade fair for another successful year of work.

**The Moravian*, 1869, page 110.

Fourth Year, 1869-1870.

September witnessed several changes. The Provincial Elders' Conference granted Principal Holland the permission to exchange the eighty-acre farm belonging to the Hope Seminary for a house and two lots, and in addition, $1400 was received for this farm. The Provincial Elders' Conference fixed the interest on the capital debt of the Seminary at four per cent. On September 26, Mr. Berthold Moencke came to Hope to serve as Seminary gardener. He served the institution long and well, and his memory will be revered not only by the students but also by the townspeople.

The customary musical entertainment was given immediately before the Christmas recess. It was composed of the usual type of music and recitations and was very well attended. In the Seminary Chapel there was also on exhibition a Christmas "Putz," or decoration representing the scenes of the Nativity. It was visited by many of the people of the village and aroused their interest, for it was the largest decoration of its kind in the history of the town.

The accounts of the year showed a surplus of $48.80. In June of 1870, Principal Holland visited the Provincial Board and mentioned the fact that he would lose two of his best teachers this year. He had prospects for supplying their places, and asked permission of the Provincial Elders' Conferenrce to secure a professor of music. They granted his permission at once.

On March 1, 1870, the teachers and pupils of the Seminary gave a concert in order to reimburse the Library Fund. The concert was a success and a neat sum was realized.

During the entire year there had been in attendance at the Seminary one hundred and two boarders, day-pupils and teachers. The school year ended with an attendance of thirty-nine boarders, sixteen day-pupils and seven teachers, making a total of sixty-two.

At the Synod of the Moravian Church held at York, Pa., May 25 to June 2, the following report was tendered by the Principal of the Hope Seminary:

"The Boarding School at Hope, Indiana, the youngest of our educational institutions, is growing stronger from year to year, and it will not be many years, we trust, before it can become a

source of profit to the Church. The number of boarders in attendance when the last Provincial Synod met was forty-one; at the close of the last annual session there were fifty-three boarders in attendance, the highest number at any time having been fifty-seven. The pecuniary affairs of the institution have continued to be a source of anxiety to the Principal; and it is evident that if the school is to prosper and maintain its proper rank among similar institutions of our Church, as well as of other Churches, it will require all or nearly all the income it can be expected to realize for several years to come. The Principal is of the opinion that when the number of scholars shall have increased to a steady attendance throughout the year of at least sixty, then, provided present prices can be kept up, the institution will be able to pay six per cent. on the investment.

"The difficulty and expense of procuring properly qualified teachers will be felt with peculiar force by this school for some years to come; and our experience has been a mixed one." The Principal then offers a suggestion which is of much moment to the interests of all our schools. We submit it. "The subject of training teachers, of instructing candidates in the theory and practice of teaching, might well occupy the attention of the Church; for it is certain that we need a higher grade of qualification than is easily found to be among those that apply."*

The program for the closing concert and entertainment given June 29, 1870, bears evidence of the thorough work and training which characterized the school from the beginning. The selections include numbers from the following composers: Schumann, Mendelssohn, Bertini, Bellini, Krug, Rosellen, Weber, Mozart, Schubert, and Rossini. Many out-of-town visitors were in attendance and remarked on the excellence of the lengthy program. Samples of the needlework and the paintings and the arts department were on exhibition. The majority of the scholars left for the summer, only a few remaining at the school over the vacation period. Three of the best teachers, also, left this year, never to return.

During the summer, the Pastor of the Moravian Congregation in Hope received and accepted an appointment to the church at

*See Journal of Synod for 1870—pages 17, 18.

New Dorp, Staten Island, New York. The Rev. L. R. Huebener succeeded the Rev. W. L. Lennert and took charge at Hope in September, 1870.

Fifth Year, 1870-1871.

The date for opening saw a goodly number of students enrolled in the Seminary. Appropriate services began the fifth session of the institution. The reports show that during the year of 1870 a total of one hundred and nineteen teachers and pupils were in attendance at the school.*

Principal Holland reported an unusual amount of sickness in the institution during the autumn months. Mrs. Holland was taken from her duties by a severe case of fever, from which she, subsequently, recovered. Many of the students were confined with measles, but no serious consequences ensued. The burning of the Woolen Factory caused a great amount of excitement both in the village and in the institution. The usual closing entertainment of the school, before the holidays, was given, with marked interest on the part of the community and the visitors from a distance.

Nothing of striking importance happened during the winter of 1870, with the exception of the severe cases of sickness, which were the general complaint throughout the entire community. The profits of the school for this year amounted to $788.31. This was a considerable increase over the report of the preceding year.

During the month of May an important event in the life of the institution was signalized when the eldest daughter of the Principal, Miss Mary Holland, was united in the bonds of matrimony with the Rev. William Henry Rice, a successful minister of the Moravian Church. The Rev. F. R. Holland performed the ceremony. Miss Holland had been a faithful teacher in the Seminary during the first years of its existence and had helped in the care of the domestic work and supervision of the culinary department and had aided, also, in the teaching of vocal music and the ornamental needlework of the school.

The summer "entertainment" of 1871 closed another session

*See Hope Congregational Diary for 1870.

of the Seminary—a musical concert and display of fancy and ornamental needlework together with the exhibit of paintings and drawings from the hands of the students. The art department of the school had done some excellent work and this was always appreciated by the visitors and the townspeople. The church was beautifully decorated for the occasion. A large audience listened to the well-rendered musical and literary program, which lasted over two hours and a half. It might be mentioned here that some of the gentlemen of the village usually helped the students with the concerts, especially with the orchestra work. There was much musical talent in the town, and it was thus used to good advantage by the teachers of the Seminary. This added to the reputation of the community and attracted many people to settle in Hope who might otherwise not have done so. It gave the village musical advantages which any city would have prized. The talent was far above the average in every particular. The program of this spring concert had an unusual number of selections—thirty-four are counted on the program. This closed another year of success and prosperity with the highest hopes for the succeeding year. The Principal was optimistic and always ready to do all in his power to secure new students and to advertise the merits of this growing institution.

In the late summer of 1871, Principal Holland requested an advance of money to secure a music professor from Herrnhut, Germany. The request was granted. But the Board urged this new institution to use every moderation in the matter of disbursing its monies.

Sixth Year, 1871-1872.

September again saw the opening of the Seminary to students. The exercises were attended by visitors and the village people. Several students were lost to the school by the suspension of a banking establishment in Columbus, Indiana. Financial conditions were at a very low ebb at this time, and the Provincial Board agreed to drop one year's interest due the Sustentation Fund by the Hope Seminary, provided F. R. Holland would be willing to reduce his account current to three thousand dollars. In October the number of scholars increased to thirty-seven

with good prospects for more students within a few weeks. In December, the Principal wrote to the Provincial Elders' Conference stating that internal conditions were never more pleasing. An excellent spirit prevailed among teachers and students. But in regard to its financial prospects, the Principal often felt perplexed and sometimes decidedly low-spirited. The school had at this time but forty boarders, with no reliable applications on hand.

At the close of the first term before Christmas, 1871, there were forty-three boarders, fifteen day-scholars and eight teachers in the Seminary. There is no program extant of the musical entertainment given immediately before the holidays, but mention has been made of numerous other musical events of the school and this one was presumably similar in character to the former well-rendered programs. Written programs for these mid-winter concerts were used during the remainder of the life of the Seminary.

The financial statement turned into the Provincial office for the year showed a deficit of over nine hundred dollars. This was largely due to the small number of boarders and the increased cost of the teaching force and general expenses. However, the internal condition of the school was beyond the highest hopes of the authorities and an optimistic spirit characterizes the letters of Principal Holland to the Provincial Board.

The sixth year closed with a musical and literary program which was up to the usual high standard in every way. The chorus work deserves special mention. It consisted of three difficult selections, "Kyrie, Eleison," from the Mass in C Major, by Beethoven; "Oberon," by Weber, and "Great is the Lord," by Mozart. All of the music on the program is of superior quality, and the recitation work shows discriminating selection and extreme good taste.

The Rev. Sylvester Wolle, one of the Trustees, visited the institution during the month of July, 1872. He reported to the Provincial Elders' Conference, "the internal conditions of the school during the past year have been excellent in every respect, but the institution has financially gone behind."*

*See Minutes of Provincial Elders' Conference for July 11, 1872.

Seventh Session, 1872-1873.

Nothing striking is noted in connection with the re-opening in the seventh year of the life of the institution. Principal Holland reported to the Provincial Board that the school opened with only thirty-six boarders. Effort was made to save some money in the matter of servants' wages. In consequence of a very good harvest this year, the outlay for bread and general supplies would be much less. The Principal states that "if some contingent resources can not be found or the number of boarding scholars increased to about sixty, the question will present itself next summer, 'How is the school to be carried on in the future?' ".*

We see from the catalogue for this session that the equipment of the school had been increased considerably. The catalogue included among other statements:

"Library and Apparatus.

"The Library of the Seminary contains about five hundred volumes including some valuable works of reference, such as Appleton's Cyclopedia, etc., and is made use of by the students without charge.

"Apparatus.—A good set of philosophical and chemical apparatus has been procured and will receive new additions as they are needed.

"*Cabinets.*—The extensive herbarium and cabinet of shells, belonging to the Principal, are freely used for purposes of illustration. A cabinet of minerals and fossils has been commenced."

Some slight change is to be noted in the cost of tuition during this year.† Per term of five months the charge was ninety dollars. In addition, the cost of music lessons, either from lady teachers or the professor of music, were considerably altered. Two lessons per week from a lady teacher amounted to $20.00 for a term of five months. Two lessons a week from the professor cost twenty-five dollars for the same period.

It will be noted here that the professor of music, Professor F. A. Albrecht, had arrived from Herrnhut, Germany. He was a very talented musician and had studied in numerous European conservatories under world-famous masters. With this ripe ex-

*See Minutes of Provincial Elders' Conference for November 5, 1872.

†The length of terms had been changed in 1871 to five months, two terms for the year.

perience, he took charge of the musical work at the Seminary and raised its standard, which even before this had been exceptionally fine.

Mention should, also, be made of the opportunity for physical exercise for the scholars of the Seminary. The best form of exercise was found to be that of taking walks on all afternoons from Monday until Friday, at four o'clock. On rainy days exercise was taken out on the rear porch of the school building, which was very commodius, and in the halls, which were very spacious. The walks were usually directed to the Church woods, later known as "Spring Woods," immediately west of the Church. In the spring the wild flowers attracted the students and made the walks interesting and instructive. This patch of woods was filled each spring with wild flowers. They were able to find spring-beauties—"the first harbinger of spring"—the snow-drop, and the sweet-scented blue violet, white violet, the yellow dog-tooth violet, the jack-in-the-pulpit, and May apples. In the autumn, particularly on Saturday afternoons, long excursions were taken to the woods. There were magnificent stretches of wood-lands north and south of Hope. The woods to the south were especially rich in "finds." The young ladies secured pawpaws, beechnuts, immense hickory-nuts, butternuts, walnuts, chestnuts, black haws, dogwood berries and autumn leaves in bright red and yellow tints. Sometimes the walks extended to the railway station at St. Louis Crossing, some five miles distant, and the farmers would supply the hungry girls with large, delicious, juicy apples from their orchards. The beechnut trees were an especial delight to the younger girls, for they made fine "swings" when situated on a gentle slope. Thus they built up their physical powers and the memories of those school days, when teachers took the girls on long and interesting walks, have never been erased from their minds. They stand a lasting tribute to the social life of the institution.

The Christmas holiday musical concert was given as usual and was well attended, and a great amount of interest was shown in the program.

In March, Principal Holland sent in the financial statement for the preceding year. It showed a deficit of over nine hundred

dollars. But several new scholars were expected and the teachers were doing excellent work.

The report offered the Provincial Synod which convened at Lititz, Pennsylvania, June 4 to 11, 1873, is significant. We quote in full:

"Hope Female Seminary continues to be an object of much solicitude on account of the financial difficulty with which it has to contend, and to overcome which the efforts of the faithful and persevering Principal, Brother F. R. Holland, with all the assistance which your Board, as custodians of the Sustentation Fund, is felt in giving, have, up to the present time, proved unavailing. A thorough examination into the finances of this institution is therefore invited, in the hope that you may be able to advise such measures as will sooner or later bring relief. In the latest report received from Brother Holland, about the middle of April last, he writes as follows concerning the internal and external affairs of the institution: 'Since the last Synod the number of boarding pupils has been variable, having ranged from about forty to sixty. At present it is fifty-one. The number of day-scholars has been from fifteen to twenty. During the six years and a half that this school has been in operation, over three hundred pupils have been enrolled. They have come from ten States of the Union,—from Michigan to Louisiana and from Ohio to Missouri. The good reputation of the school seems to be extending by degrees. This is due in large measure to the faithful and conscientious labors of the teachers. All of those employed during the present year, with one exception, were educated in the institution in which they are now ably serving. We are not without cheering evidence that the principal object for which our educational institutions have been established, namely, to aid in building up the Kingdom of Christ, has been promoted. From year to year some of our pupils have given themselves to Jesus and have professed a justifying faith in Him. The financial condition of the Seminary is not such as would justify the expectation that this institution can be relied on as a direct source of income to the Sustentation Fund for many years to come. This expectation, if ever entertained, must have rested upon a want of knowledge of the constantly recurring demands on the earnings of a school that was com-

menced without a cent of "working capital" and that needs all and more than it can earn in order to make needed extensions and improvements. It is not too much to say that all the reasonable expectations that are entertained with regard to this school have been realized and that its future usefulness and success are by no means doubtful or uncertain, provided a just and liberal course is pursued toward it, so that it may before long be relieved of its pecuniary difficulties which hinder its more extended usefulness.' "*

At the same Synod, at which this full report of the work of the Seminary at Hope had been rendered, it was urged that all the educational institutions of the Province should be incorporated. This, as far as the sources show, was never accomplished in the case of the Hope Seminary.

The Rev. L. R. Huebener was called to Gnadenhuetten, Ohio, May 26, 1873, and the next pastor of the Hope Congregation was the Rev. E. J. Regennas. He arrived to take charge late in September, 1873.

Eighth Session, 1873-1874.

The eighth session of the school began with an enrollment of forty-five boarding students, and, in a letter dated September 23, Principal Holland informed the Provincial Elders' Conference, "The class of patronage the school is beginning to have, more generally than at first leads to the hope that we are over the worst and that in the future there will be more scholars coming from a distance." In October, Mr. Holland wrote that there were now fifty-one boarders in attendance.

A successor was chosen to fill the vacancy in the membership of the Provincial Board caused by the death of the Rev. Sylvester Wolle on August 28. This was done on November 17, 1873. The Rev. Francis R. Holland was elected and accepted the office to which he had been chosen, but, in order that the Female Seminary at Hope might not suffer detriment and to lessen the expenses of the Sustentation Fund as also to test the practicability of accomplishing all that is required of an executive board having one of its members separated by a distance of nearly nine

*Journal of Synod for 1873, page 21.

hundred miles from the other two, Principal Holland remained at Hope while the other two members lived at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. Thus the Principal became also a trustee of the Hope Seminary.

As usual, an entertainment was given at the close of the first semester of the school year. The professor of music took charge of all renditions. The affair was well attended and pleased the visitors and students very much. The reputation of the Seminary was growing in the line of musical ability, and for thoroughness of training no school in the Middle West was better equipped.

In January, 1874, the special season of religious awakening is to be noted in connection with the Church of the village. The pastor noted a deep interest during the week of prayer, immediately after the opening of the new year. Not knowing who was affected by it, he asked simply at the close of a meeting that if any desired the prayers of God's people they should rise. The first to manifest a desire was a Seminary student. Another Seminary student followed and then three other people. The following evening nine others rose, with the same desire expressed. The meetings that followed saw about forty people, mostly Seminary pupils, come forward for spiritual help. Owing to the religious fervor among the Seminary students, it was deemed wise for Principal Holland to hold special services in the school chapel. Late in January, the Rev. Holland baptized the first Seminary student who had found peace in the love of the Saviour. The Church was crowded. At a later service held in the Church, sixty-five people came forward. This was made mention of in a letter to the Provincial Elders' Conference by the Rev. Holland under date of February 3.* From the same record we learn that at these special services one hundred and fifty persons were "hopefully converted" and that the Moravian Church would receive about fifty or sixty members. On Palm Sunday, 1874, sixty-one persons were baptized or confirmed in the congregation. This has been spoken of as one of the finest influences of the Seminary among its students. Blessings of the

*See Minutes of Provincial Elders' Conference for 1874.

Lord were certainly attending the efforts put forth by faithful laborers.

The financial statement from the Hope Seminary was very gratifying to the authorities. It was sent in during March. It showed a surplus of $1296.33. In order to enable the Principal to pay off some indebtedness of that institution, the following resolution was adopted: "That the Principal of the Bethlehem Female Seminary is authorized to procure the loan of money for the Hope Boarding School, provided always that arrangements satisfactory to the Provincial Elders' Conference can be made."*

The school closed for the summer on June 24. A musical and literary concert was given on that date, at which there were many visitors from a distance. This was of the usual excellent quality, and the program shows a decided improvement over some of the former efforts. At this concert several gentlemen from the village and Professor Albrecht aided in several selections. The chorus work was well rendered under the competent leadership of Professor Albrecht. At these exercises, also, the valedictory was given and the presentation of diplomas had its place on the program. Diplomas were handed to the nine members of the senior class who had creditably completed the course of study and passed the examinations. The essays which were read by several scholars were very good and were highly appreciated by the delighted audience.†

August 1 saw the laying of the corner-stone of the new Church edifice at Hope. Appropriate ceremonies marked the occasion. Among the numerous articles placed in the corner-stone was a catalogue for the current year of the Young Ladies' Seminary at Hope.

Ninth Session, 1874-1875.

Nothing of particular note is to be found in the sources concerning the opening in September, 1874. The school opened with about the usual number of scholars, and before the year had ended there were seventy-five young ladies in attendance, from twelve States and Territories. The Christmas holidays saw the completion of the first term with a musical entertainment, given

*See Minutes of Provincial Elders' Conference for March 13, 1874.

†See *Moravian*, 1874, page 110.

under the direction of Professor Albrecht. The Principal always spoke of the Professor of music as "a Christian gentleman" and he proved himself such on all occasions. The character of the music was both secular and sacred at all concerts, and this added to the interest of the entertainment. The tuition for a five-month period had been raised to one hundred dollars, to keep up with the rise in prices along various lines.

In March, 1875, Principal Holland presented the financial statement of the Seminary, which showed a balance over and above all expenses of $426.86. This was very encouraging to the Provincial Elders' Conference and showed that the school was not losing ground but was becoming increasingly efficient in all its departments. The spirit had been optimistic all along, and there was ground for further hope and there were large opportunities for growth.

On June 1, the Hope Church, which had recently been finished, was dedicated by the Rev. Robert de Schweinitz. This marked a new step in the progress of the village and the life of the Seminary. The Seminary scholars worshipped in this edifice, always marching to and from the Church together with their teachers and in orderly room-companies. The Church was a handsome brick structure holding about eight hundred people. This was built in order to meet the needs of the growing congregation, and to accommodate the large congregations which were attending the services at this time.

The year closed with a musical entertainment, given June 30, 1875. The program shows many well chosen selections, and one point of interest is the fact that a composition of Professor Albrecht was presented, entitled, "A Lullaby." Thus closed the ninth year of this institution, which had grown in direct proportion to the faithfulness of the Principal, and the teachers. Additional equipment had been added from year to year.

Tenth Year, Decennial Celebration and Reunion, 1876.

The tenth annual session of the Hope Seminary began September 1, with about the usual enrollment of scholars, many of the older ones returning while the number of new ones was not so large. "It is gratifying to note," states Principal Holland, in *The Moravian* for September 21, 1875, "that the school is gradu-

ally acquiring more than a mere local reputation. During this year and last we have had pupils even from New York and Pennsylvania as well as from Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, Illinois, Arkansas, Tennessee and other States. It is to be perceived that the number of our friends is increasing and we trust the day is not far distant when it will be absolutely necessary to enlarge our building and provide for a much larger number of students."

The musical entertainment, which had been given annually immediately before the holiday season, was again conducted under the direction of Professor Albrecht. It was a decided success in every particular and bore evidence of the fact that the musical and literary training of the scholars had been skillfully and thoroughly accomplished.

Principal F. R. Holland presented the financial statement of the Hope Boarding School for the year 1875 to the Executive Board on March 14, 1876. This showed a surplus over and above the regular expenses of the school of $236.27. Thus we see that receipts were just about meeting the expenses of the growing institution.

A Decade of Prosperity.

June, 1876, not only completed the Centennial year of American Independence but also the Decennial year of the Hope Seminary. The reunion of the Hope Seminary teachers and pupils was held June 21-22, and a more interesting and delightful occasion could hardly be imagined. On the evening of the twentieth, quite a number of former pupils arrived and most joyous and affectionate was the meeting between these and the good Principal and his wife. As many of them had acquaintances among the scholars then residing in the Seminary, these, too, came to welcome them and the halls soon resounded with the music of happy young voices. Beds having been put in class-rooms and other available spaces, sufficient accommodations were provided in the Seminary for the alumnae. The weather for several days had been unpleasantly cool and showery, but the morning of the twenty-first dawned clear and bright, as though Nature herself smiled upon the festive occasion. Many more former scholars arrived during the morn-

ing, among them were some who were present when the school was opened ten years before. At ten o'clock in the forenoon a long procession made its way from the Seminary to the new Church, where the exercises for the day were opened by the singing of a hymn of joyful praise and thanksgiving. Then followed a prayer by the Rev. E. J. Regennas and an address by the Principal, F. R. Holland, in which, after stating the object of the meeting and extending a most cordial welcome to all present, the speaker gave a brief account of the opening of the institution on November 19, 1866, and dwelt, at length, on the mercy and goodness of the Lord, who had watched over and protected all its inmates so that, although during these ten years four hundred and twelve pupils had sojourned there, for a longer or shorter period, and, including all connected with the institution, there had been five hundred persons within the Seminary buildings, not a single death had occurred among them. No epidemic had visited them, except at one time the measles, from which disease all had entirely recovered. The meeting was closed with the singing of another hymn and all returned to the Seminary, where the bell soon summoned them to dinner. All the old school day haunts were re-visited in and around the house. As the sun declined, parties might be seen wandering here and there amid the shrubbery or along the perfume-breathing flower beds of the beautiful lawn fronting the building or under the spreading beech trees in the adjacent "Spring Woods."

At seven thirty p.m., all assembled in the old Church, where a musical entertainment was given by the scholars, directed by Professor Albrecht. The performances, both vocal and instrumental, were marked by a very high degree of excellence and reflected great credit upon the pupils and their accomplished teachers. With this entertainment closed the exercises of the first day.

The following morning brought fresh arrivals, and at ten o'clock a.m. all assembled again in the new Church, when, after singing a hymn, interesting extracts were read from letters of such of the former teachers and pupils as could not be present at the reunion. Many and varied had been the experiences of some since leaving the school. Quite a number had become

wives and mothers, others were engaged in teaching, while some had to mourn the death of parents and other dear friends. All united, however, in expressing affectionate regard for their Alma Mater and regret at being unable to re-visit it on such a happy occasion. A few appropriate remarks by the Principal and the singing of the Doxology closed the meeting.

The remainder of the day was spent much in the same manner as the one preceding. Most of the guests left for their homes during the afternoon, a few remaining until the following morning. Thus passed two very happy days. One young lady remarked that they seemed to her "the happiest days she had ever spent."*

Ten years had passed since the founding of this institution in the Middle West. The experiences had been many and varied. Amid the adversities, there had been many days of prosperity. The school had grown, flourished and had established a reputation among the patrons and general public of neighboring States. The future looked promising for even greater results. If support and good wishes from the students could keep the school growing, there was every prospect of success. The students and faculty had established a school spirit which would inevitably remain with its continued success. The remaining years were to modify these hopes and prospects to a great extent.

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*See *Moravian* for July 13, 1876.

CHAPTER IV.

LAST YEARS AND CLOSE OF THE HOPE SEMINARY FOR YOUNG LADIES. 1876-1881.

Eleventh Session, 1876-1877.

We now approach that portion of the history of the Hope Seminary, which, although it is not altogether discouraging, reveals to us the reasons for the close and abandonment of the school, which, at this time, was in good condition but which lacked the hearty support of those whose interest would have insured its continued success and a brighter future than was in store for it.

Among interesting matters, mention may be made of the manner of marking the students and the reports which were given to them and, also, to their parents in order to show just what they had accomplished and wherein they were at fault. The following is the report card form:

Moravian Seminary for Young Ladies
at
Hope, Indiana.

Report of the standing and deportment of .....
During the ..... term ..... annual session.
From ..... 187.. to ..... 187...

The Roman characters are used to designate the number of the class to which the pupil belongs.

The degree of merit is indicated by the figures one to nine, thus:

Figure 9 signifies—Unexceptionable.
Figure 8 signifies—Highly Meritorious.
Figure 7 signifies—Very Creditable.
Figure 6 signifies—Doing Well.
Figure 5 signifies—Passable.
Figure 4 signifies—Unsatisfactory.
Figure 3 signifies—Very Unsatisfactory.
Figure 2 signifies—Very Neglectful.
Figure 1 signifies—Willfully and culpably remiss.

I.—Class Report.

Studies.	No. of Class.	Standing in Class.	Attention and Conduct.	Remarks.
Spelling				
Defining				
Grammar				
Analysis				
Composition				
Rhetoric				
Literature				
Latin				
Natural History				
Reading				
History of U. S.				
History, Universal				
History, Biblical				
Geography				
Physical Geography				
Astronomy				
Arithmetic				
Algebra				
Geometry				
Book Keeping				
Natural Philosophy				
Chemistry				
Domestic Science				
Geology				
Physiology				
Botany				
Moral Science				
Evidences of Christianity				
Intellectual Philosophy				
Writing				
Plain Sewing				
French				
German				
Drawing				
Piano Forte				
Vocal Music				
Ornamental Needlework				

II.—Room Teacher's Report.

	Standing.	Remarks.
1. Diligence in the hours set apart for study..		
2. Habits for self-improvement out of study hours		
3. Habits of order.....		
4. Punctuality		
5. Personal Neatness.....		
6. Kindness and courtesy towards companions		
7. Respect to teachers.....		
8. Observance of rules.....		
9. General conduct.....		

This method of marking work and conduct of pupils was observed from the beginning of the school to the close.

Every Wednesday afternoon the students were assembled for the rehearsing of Church music and the learning of hymns. This was under the direction of Mrs. Holland, and later under the direction of Mrs. Blickensderfer. In this way the scholars learned numerous precious hymns, for which many have testified their deep appreciation after the years have passed away and the school has ceased to exist. On Sunday afternoons the Principal conducted Bible-study in the Seminary Chapel, to which all the students were invited, and it proved a source of benefit to the young ladies in learning the fundamentals of the Christian faith and general Scriptural knowledge. Many have expressed their appreciation of these hours spent in studying the Word of God.

In the Appendix of the Synodal report for the year, 1876, the sympathy and prayers of the Church are especially directed to the work of the Seminary at Hope. The belief is stated that the welfare of the whole Church west of the Alleghanies is intimately bound up with the support, enlargement and increased prosperity of this school.

Items of Interest of Eleventh Session.

The school year, 1876-77, was not marked by any remarkable events at the Hope Seminary. The year opened at the usual time and the mid-year concert was full of interest as always, both for the scholars and for the townspeople. The exercises were held for the first time in the new Hope Church.

During June, Principal Holland sent in his financial statement, which showed an excess of expenditures amounting to $1376.80. The graduating class numbered but five; the exercises were marked by special music and the wonted literary program.

The last printed catalogue dates from the session of 1877-78. During the latter part of August the pastor of the Hope congregation moved into a fine, newly-built parsonage and at about the same time there was a great deal of interest in the Seminary, for in the greenhouse there were three specimens of the night blooming cereus.

Opening of Session, 1877-1878.

September saw the re-opening of another session of the Hope Seminary. The customary concert was given at Christmas time, and was largely attended by out-of-town people. In February, Principal Holland presented his statement of school expense to the Provincial Elders' Conference and it showed an excess of expenditures of $965.00. The closing exercises for the year were very satisfactory and were held again in the new Church at Hope.

The Provincial Synod of 1878 was held at Hope, Indiana. It was in some respects one of the most interesting Synods of recent years and one which had more or less to do with the future work of the Hope Seminary, for there had been a question as to the place of meeting for this Synod, and because of the discussions which occurred in regard to the place of meeting, strong feelings were engendered which were never fully forgotten, although a temporary agreement was entered into by the parties who were at odds. This had much to do with the close of the Hope School, not only on the part of the Principal, but also on the part of the Executive Board of the Province. The following report was read to this Synod by Principal Holland:

Report of the Moravian Seminary at Hope, Indiana, to the Provincial Synod, October, 1878.

This institution, the youngest of our Church Boarding Schools in this Province, was opened on November 19, 1866, nearly twelve years ago. A review of this whole period would furnish subjects for reflection both of a

saddening and enlivening nature. Of the three brethren who were at first trustees and who took the most lively interest in its welfare, two have been called from labor on earth to rest in heaven. To the active and enterprising spirit of the late Brother Sylvester Wolle more than to any other individual the institution owes its existence. His lamented death in the year 1873 was a great loss to the institution.

It is due to the wife of the Principal to state that, but for her active and self-denying spirit and her willingness to assume cares and responsibilities which were really too much for her physical strength, it would have been impossible for him to undertake the double duty which he has attempted to discharge during the last five years. To her faithful and untiring labor, freely bestowed, is due the fact that he was able to leave home some times for weeks and, returning, find that everything, including correspondence had been ably and faithfully attended to.

Since the opening of the school there have been entered nearly five hundred pupils, from sixteen States and Territories. The time spent varied from one term to four or five years, the average time having perceptibly increased since the first two years. The number of graduates is about fifty. Many others have spent two years or more at the school, some pursuing a special course of study; but, although making fine attainments in the branches studied, they are not enrolled as graduates inasmuch as they did not complete the full course of regular studies.

This course of study, adopted soon after the opening of the school, requires three years after the completion of an ordinary common school education. It includes the Elements of Mental and Moral Philosophy and the Evidences of Christianity, and is designed not only to impart a stock of knowledge, but to cultivate and strengthen the mental and moral powers.

We have endeavored to keep steadily in view the principle on which our schools are grounded, which is that "they are for the educating and winning of youth for the Saviour." While every year has witnessed the fact of some of our pupils, "avowing the Lord to be their God," and themselves His redeemed people, we have been blessed with special seasons of grace, the fruits of which remain to this day in many widely scattered homes.

In connection with this all-important feature of our work, we desire to recognize the faithful and earnest spirit of the Christian women who have labored with us as teachers. In training the precious souls committed to our charge they have been excellent. With few exceptions those who taught here are worthy of all honor. On the other hand, we are more than ever impressed with the fact that incalculable harm can be done to individuals by those worldly minded persons who, while professing to be Christians and perhaps attending to their routine duties as instructors, neutralize by their example and influence the good that others try to do. When such, unfortunately, have been admitted as teachers we have felt it our duty to sever their connection with the school as soon as it could be honorably and fairly done.

In common with other schools ours has been unfavorably affected during the last and present year by the financial condition of the country. The decrease in the number of scholars has probably not been out of proportion to that of our older schools, but this school has been less favorably situated than others for enduring the strain to which it has been submitted. While we have been enabled to make a considerable reduction of expenses it has been impossible to go beyond a certain point, and we have thought it necessary, also, to reduce the charge for board and tuition in order to meet the present state of the times. With returning confidence and prosperity there can be no doubt that this institution along with others will revive. Until then it needs special care and help. We are confident that it has a considerable number of warm friends and as the number increases its patronage will also increase.

In addition to what has been embraced in former reports of this kind this seems to be the proper time and place for giving expression to the conviction that, while all other similar institutions are strongly supported by strong denominational influence, this has had to suffer in a peculiar manner for the want of such an influence. More especially as regards its Board of Trustees, it might almost as well have had none, so far as devising of means and active participation in promoting its interests are concerned. It is not even a corporate habitation within the State. With a larger Board of Trustees, such as is required in the case of incorporated schools State's law, and with a certain number of trustees or directors residing within easy reach, it might be expected that the Principal would have that counsel and direction, as well as moral and material support, the want of which he has so sensibly felt during the period and trial incidental to a new enterprise of this kind. In order that we do the right thing in this matter, I suggest that the institution be incorporated without delay under the laws of the State.

F. R. Holland, *Principal.*

Owing to the financial status of the Hope Seminary and also because of the fact that the number of students had diminished during the two years following the reunion, the Provincial Elders' Conference came to some very definite conclusions. The school opened as usual in September, 1878. On October 24, the Rev. Holland asked the Executive Board if they had any special instructions bearing on his duties as Principal. Receiving none, he next stated that he would be ready to yield up his office at any time that the Conference might deem it advisable after this question had been put to him by a member of the Board. But he believed that in the interests of the institution no change should be made in the administration until the end of the school year.

They held the usual entertainment at Christmas time, which was appreciated by a large and interested audience.

The Provincial Elders' Conference decided to appoint the Rev. Jesse Blickensderfer to the position of Principal of the Hope Seminary in the early part of January, 1879. On February third the Rev. Jesse Blickensderfer telegraphed his acceptance of the call to the difficult post of Principal of the Seminary at Hope.

As Principal Holland had not sent in his accounts and the debts had not been met (those bearing more than six per cent. interest as was ordered by Synod), the Rev. E. Leibert was delegated to visit Hope and together with the Principal go over the accounts and consult with him in regard to the paying off of such debts as it was possible to meet. He was, also, to examine into the school with a view to changing it into a family boarding school. The Rev. E. Leibert visited Hope during February, consulting with Principal Holland and going over the accounts of the school. The apprehensions felt by the Board were realized, for the deficit was found to be $3,973.91, which did not even include the interest up to the end of the year, amounting to about $700.00. This brought the total deficit up to more than $4,600.00. The running expenses were no less than those of the preceding year, with the exception of about five hundred dollars which the Principal was saving on salaries. Acording to the statement following the investigation, the school was costing the Church at the rate of $2250.00 per annum, and the total indebtedness of the school was over forty-seven thousand dollars. It appears that the Provincial Elders' Conference considered that the force of teachers employed for the limited number of boarders, twenty-two, was excessively large, and that the day-scholars were rather a source of expense than of profit under the old method of charge. The Provincial Elders' Conference decided unanimously to make the change in the Principalship as soon as possible, giving Principal Holland timely notice.*

The members of the Provincial Elders' Conference were Bishop Edmund de Schweinitz, the Rev. Henry J. Van Vleck,

*See Minutes of Provincial Elders' Conference for February 27, 1879.

the Rev. Eugene Leibert, the Rev. Henry T. Bachman and the Rev. Herman S. Hoffman.

During March a certain Mrs. Susan Irving, of San Francisco, had bequeathed to the Bethlehem and Hope Seminaries a sum of money. It was resolved that the amount bequeathed to the Hope Seminary should be applied to pay off the indebtedness of the latter school to the Bethlehem Female Seminary. In April the Provincial Elders' Conference resolved to pay off the debt of the Hope Seminary to the Nazareth Hall Military Academy from the Sustentation Fund, as being the responsible debtor. This was referred to the Advisory Finance Committee. In April the question of the future of the Hope Seminary was discussed, but it was thought inadvisable to take any action under existing circumstances.

On June 27, 1879, the Hope Seminary commencement closed a very interesting period of that school's existence. The entertainment given was said to have been the best ever held there. This year closed the work of the Rev. F. R. Holland as Principal of the Seminary.* Soon after he retired to his own property south of the town, a beautiful suburban home. Credit should be given the Rev. F. R. Holland,* Mrs. Holland,† and the efficient corps of teachers who strove during these thirteen years to make the Seminary a cultural and educational factor in the life of the Church and community.

The New Administration.

In July, 1879, the Rev. Jesse Blickensderfer and family arrived at the Hope Seminary to take charge of the school. His wife died soon after their arrival in Hope. The Seminary opened as usual, in September, with Principal Blickensderfer and two resident tutoresses, the Misses Elizabeth Rondthaler and Anna Stempel, forming the faculty. Thus the teaching force had decreased considerably. They held the annual Christmas entertainment, consisting of musical and literary selections.

The accounts of the Seminary, as sent into the Provincial Elders' Conference, showed a deficit of $3,434.33. The number

*Principal Holland died May 21, 1894.

†Mrs. F. R. Holland died January 16, 1896.

of pupils had diminished, but under the efficient management of Principal Blickensderfer the affairs had been administered so as to materially reduce the loss that the continuance of the Seminary entailed upon the Sustentation Fund. They considered it reasonable to hope that the number of pupils would increase to twenty, which would afford a sufficient income to meet running expenses. This resolution was passed by the Provincial Elders' Conference in April, 1880:

"*Resolved:* That the Hope Female Seminary be continued and that Brother Blickensderfer be encouraged to use his best endeavors to increase the number of pupils."*

Principal Blickensderfer was also advised to secure the services of a music teacher with the salary of about $400.00.

The last Christmas entertainment was given immediately before the holidays of 1880. It proved a notable success and the influence of the excellent character of the music has lived in the life of the community since the days of the prosperity of the Hope Seminary.

Closing Session, 1880-1881.

The closing session of the Seminary's existence was that of the year 1881. The accounts for the year showed a deficit of $1,104.85, being a decrease of $2,330.00 from the deficit of the previous year.

At the Synod of 1881, held at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, May 18-30, the Hope congregation extended a memorial to the Synod, signed by the pastor and two delegates. From it we quote the following: "As members of this congregation we naturally feel a lively interest in the welfare of Hope Seminary. Should the institution pass out of the hands of the Church, it might prove a serious blow not only to this congregation but it might eventually lead to the formation of other Church connections and the loss to our Church of the influence already acquired. We therefore hope that it may be placed on such a basis as will restore it to prosperity." In addition to this, this same memorial advocates that the boarding schools of the Church should have the benefit of their annual profits, these to consti-

*See Minutes of Provincial Elders' Conference, April 16, 1880.

tute a common fund to be applied first of all to the extinction of their indebtedness and, this being accomplished, to the improvement and extension of their own work, the stronger always helping the weaker. Had this policy been followed out, it is almost safe to say that the Hope Seminary might never have ceased to exist.

At the same Synod, Principal Blickensderfer offered the following report of the work at the Hope Seminary:

"In general it may be sufficient to state that the school is improving both numerically and financially; there is also a most excellent spirit pervading the institution, and we have as a whole a very satisfactory class of pupils. Too much praise cannot be given to the teachers who discharged their duties with the conscientiousness and zeal and welfare for both pupils and school worthy of all imitation.

"We have found it possible to simplify arrangements and to curtail expenses to a large extent without impairing the efficiency of the school. On the contrary, some of the consolidations rendered necessary by the economy have been productive of good rather than of the reverse. On the whole, our internal arrangements and the home life have been very agreeable and quite as satisfactory as could be expected. It does not seem to me that we have met with any lack of success in this respect.

"As to the financial condition of Hope Seminary, while it is by no means what is hoped for, it is perhaps not very different from what might have been expected. While the simplification of arrangements and curtailment of expenses, in a word all proper economy, has not brought its expenses within the limits of income it has, nevertheless, produced very gratifying results. The school's financial condition is steadily improving. It seems to be demonstrated that it could be conducted without incurring a deficit with only a very small number of pupils. It is my conviction that the day is not far distant when the school will pay its own way and even produce profit."

The report of the same Synod states "with regard to Hope Seminary the last Synod passed the following resolution: 'that the Provincial Elders' Conference be requested to continue Hope Seminary until the meeting of the next Synod, unless in their judgment it becomes absolutely necessary to temporarily close said institution.' Although the expenses of the school had been greatly reduced, yet the income had not been sufficient to cover them. And as the deficiency in this instance is a direct drain on the Sustentation Fund, we would in the beginning of the present year have taken the question into serious consideration whether the institution should be continued, had it not been

for the convocation of the Synod to which we now refer the case."

It might be said in connection with all this, that the other boarding schools of the Church also felt the depression which commenced in 1873 and continued unabated for seven years. The outlook, however, after 1879, became very much more encouraging and this fact leads us to conclude that the general condition of the country was such that a continuance of the school at Hope would have met with increased success, could this time of financial distress have been tided over by other means than the income from the school itself.

In the meeting of the Provincial Elders' Conference held June 3, 1881, the case of the Hope Seminary was discussed at great length and the following preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted:

WHEREAS, The Provincial Synod of 1881 resolved that the Hope Seminary should be continued only on condition that no further expense to the Sustentation Fund be thereby incurred, and that individual obligations legally binding be pledged to meet the annual deficits; and

WHEREAS, It is not likely that, as far as the Provincial Elders' Conference has been able to learn, that such obligations to a sufficient amount can be secured if the school is continued on its present basis; and

WHEREAS, The Provincial Elders' Conference desires to keep an agency by which the religious and moral training of the Brethren's Church and its educational system generally may be perpetuated in the West, which may tend to promote the interests of the Church at Hope, and through the Province may eventually receive some return for the large amount invested in the enterprise; therefore

Resolved, That the following offer shall be made to the Church at Hope:

I. The Provincial Elders' Conference will lease Hope Seminary to the Moravian Church at Hope for a nominal rent, provided

(a) That the Moravian Church at Hope will agree to put and keep the premises and buildings in repair; provided, further,

(b) That the said Church will pay the taxes and keep up the insurance; provided, lastly,

(c) That the building shall be used for the purposes of a Moravian Boarding and day-school.

II. The Moravian Church at Hope shall have complete control of the school including the right to elect its trustees or directors and to appoint its principal.

III. This agreement shall continue in force for two years, at the end of which period it may either be renewed on such a basis as will at that time

be just and equitable to both parties, or the entire agreement may be abrogated.

IV. During the period of two years no interest shall be charged by the Provincial Elders' Conference on the capital invested by the Sustentation Fund in Hope Seminary.

V. The farm land belonging to the Hope Seminary shall not be included in this contract, it shall be leased separately.

The Hope Moravian Congregation refused this offer to take over the Hope Seminary.

Close of the Hope Moravian Seminary.

The Hope Moravian Seminary was closed on June 28, 1881, and an entertainment of rare merit was the grand finale of the institution's work. The Principal, Jesse Blickensderfer, soon left Hope for Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, where he took charge of the Female Seminary of that place. Throughout the existence of the Hope Seminary infinite good had been accomplished. The educational, moral and spiritual influences which had emanated from the school had an effect which will last for time and eternity. Not only were these influences felt in the life of the community but also in the life of the Middle West. At times the conditions had been very discouraging. However, with true Christian optimism Principal and teachers had labored faithfully to give the best scholastic instruction, to add cultural development, and to increase the Christian experience of the scholars intrusted to their care.

The official reason given for the termination of the work of the Hope Seminary is to be found in the Journal of Synod for 1884. It is given under the report of the Committee of Education, as follows: "The last Synod adopted the following resolution: '*Resolved*, that Hope Seminary be continued, provided, *first*, that no further expense to the Sustentation Fund be incurred and provided, *second*, that individual obligations legally binding, be pledged from time to time to meet any possible annual deficits in the accounts of said school.' Inasmuch as neither of these provisos could be fulfilled, Hope Seminary was closed at the end of the summer term of 1881." The members of the Provincial Elders' Conference were the Rt. Rev. Edmund de Schweinitz, the Rev. Eugene Leibert, and the Rev. Augustus Schultze.

The closing up of affairs connected with the sale of the property and buildings of the Moravian Seminary at Hope required numerous and complicated transactions. Suffice it to say, that the Provincial Elders' Conference tried every possible means to dispose of the estate to the best of advantage. After the Seminary had been closed, they offered to lease the property, as indicated above, to the congregation at Hope. This offer was not accepted. Thereupon, they negotiated with the trustees of the Hope congregation for the sale of the property. These negotiations led to no results. In January, 1882, through the School Agency of Schermerhorn and Company, New York City, they put the property on the market. Soon after, the Provincial Elders' Conference requested the trustees of the Hope congregation to take oversight of the property until it should be sold. This the brethren consented to do and appointed three of their number to carry out this trust.

In the spring of 1882, as the school agency brought no offers to the Board, they commissioned the Brethren William Leibert and Ashton C. Borhek, of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, both well acquainted with all matters relating to real estate, to visit Hope in person to examine the buildings and land and if possible sell both, and if this could not be done, to appoint a reliable Western real estate agency to effect the sale. At great personal inconvenience, these two brethren accepted this commission. The result was that in the following summer, the agents, Messrs. Hutchins and Winkler, of Columbus, Indiana, to whom they had entrusted the property, disposed of it for eleven thousand dollars, one half in cash and the other half payable in three yearly installments secured by mortgage and bearing six per cent. interest. Personal property and two large lots were not included in this transaction. After that, most of the personal property was sold in the course of the following years, so that twelve thousand dollars was realized on the sale of the entire property.*

The buildings were used as the home of a Normal School at a somewhat later time. This school also closed after an insignificant history, covering a very brief period. The buildings were

*See Appendix to Journal of Synod, 1884.

used for store-room purposes and, finally, during the interval when a new school building was being erected in Hope, the town rented the Seminary buildings for public school purposes. This was in 1906.

Since then the buildings have been literally demolished, as one graduate said, "until not one stone is left standing upon another." The lots have all been sold, and the site of the once beautiful campus is occupied by modern dwellings. In the town of today, nothing may be seen or learned of the Seminary except from those who have never allowed the memories to die or be effaced which they received while students in the Hope Moravian Seminary for Young Ladies. Truly the history had been one of stress at times and many were the discouragements, but the number of scholars had been worth all the effort which had been expended in the erection, establishment and support of the Seminary for those eventful fifteen years of happy school life. Never will the recollections of those happy years die for all those who experienced the joys of school life within the walls of Hope Seminary, and the words of the Psalmist which were printed on each edition of the Seminary catalogue, "That our daughters may be as corner-stones polished after the similitude of a palace" (Psalm 144:12), held true of the Seminary scholars. May the memory of this institution be perpetuated and hearty support be given all other Moravian Boarding Schools whose history may hold as much of real worth as did the Moravian Seminary for Young Ladies at Hope, Indiana.

MORAVIAN DAY SCHOOL, HOPE, IND.
(Building Materials for New Seminary in the Foreground.)

CATALOGUE

OF THE

OFFICERS, TEACHERS AND SCHOLARS

OF THE

MORAVIAN
Seminary for Young Ladies

AT

HOPE, BARTHOLOMEW COUNTY, INDIANA,

FROM

November, 1866, to July, 1868.

"That our Daughters may be as Corner-stones, polished after the similitude of a palace."—Ps.144:12.

HOPE, INDIANA.
1868.

BOARD OF TRUSTEES.

The Rev. Robert de Schweinitz,
The Rev. Sylvester Wolle,
The Rev. L. F. Kampmann.

OFFICERS AND TEACHERS.

Principal and Superintendent.
The Rev. F. R. Holland.

Directress of the Household.
Mrs. Augusta E. Holland.

Resident Tutoresses and Teachers of the English Branches.

Miss L. L. Brietz,* deceased,
Miss O. S. Warner,*
Miss Charlotte Prince,
Miss S. H. Wolle,
Miss E. W. Rondthaler,
Miss Cornelia S. Bleck.

Teacher of French and German.
Madame Marie L. Wirth.

Teachers of Instrumental Music.

Miss O. S. Warner, deceased,
Miss E. W. Rondthaler,
Miss Cornelia S. Bleck.
Miss Charlotte Prince,
(Mrs. W. N. Noll, Los Angeles, Cal.)

Teachers of Vocal Music.

Mrs. A. E. Holland,
Miss Mary E. Holland.

Teacher of Drawing and Painting.
Mrs. Augusta E. Holland.

Teacher of Ornamental Work.
Miss Mary E. Holland.

*From Nov., 1866, to July, 1867.

PUPILS.

NAMES.	RESIDENCES.
Albright, Emma	*Hope, Ind.*
Barrett, Catherine	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. W. H. Herring, Ainsworth, Neb.	
Barrett, Margaret	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. George Remy, Hope, Ind.	
Bittrich, Amelia	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. S. Caruthers, deceased, Shelbyville, Ind.	
Bittrich, Anna	Hope, Ind.
Blickensderfer, Cornelia	*Tuscarawas, O.*
Mrs. C. Boschè, deceased 1913, Austin, Texas.	
Blickensderfer, Mary	*Tuscarawas, O.*
Mrs. E. Russell, Alliance, O.	
Bliss, Flora	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Newton Bradley, Hope, Ind.	
Bonwell, Amanda	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Philipp Gilliland, near Rugby, Ind.	
Boynton, Lillie	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. H. Smith, Indianapolis, Ind.	
Burnett, Margaret	*Columbus, Ind.*
Calhoun, Susan	*Hope, Ind.*
Clark, Mary Ruth	*Hope, Ind.*
Coleman, Lottie, deceased	*Hope, Ind.*
Compton, Joan	*Edinburgh, Ind.*
Crossland, Ida	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. I. Winans, Columbus, Ind.	
Crossland, Ella	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. How. Neligh, deceased, Shelbyville, Ind.	
Crossland, Ida	*Hope, Ind.*
Diltz, Dora	*Hope, Ind.*
Dresel, Elise W.	*Louisville, Ky.*
Present address, Evansville, Ind.	
Eaton, Mary V.	*Olney, Ill*
Mrs. M. Frazee, Ill.	
Ensley, Melissa	*Edinburg, Ind.*
Mrs. M. Jones, Shelbyville, Ind.	
Fishel, Harriett	*Hope, Ind.*
Present address, Indianapolis, Ind.	
Fishel, Laura	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. H. S. Rominger, Indianapolis, Ind.	
Gambold, Delia	*Hope, Ind.*
Gambold, Isabella	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. I. Storm, Veedersburg, Ind.	

NAMES. RESIDENCES.

George, Urcilla.....*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Frank Norton, Columbus, Ind.
George, Mary.....*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. A. Dalmbert, Hope, Ind.
Gillaspy, Mary.....*Ottumwa, Iowa.*
Mrs. Julian Augustus Wentz, deceased, Chicago, Ill.
Gower, Hebe.....*Iowa City, Iowa.*
Mrs. H. F. Rector, Corning, Ark.
Gruhl, Emma.....*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Wm. New, Shelbyville, Ind.
Gruhl, Louisa M.....*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Sam'l Thaeler, Greensboro, N. C.
Hahn, Isabella .....*Detroit, Mich.*
Hammond, Emma.....*Tipton, Iowa.*
Mrs. J. Nevin Neiman, deceased 1914, Des Moines, Iowa.
Hartman, Anna.....*Richmond, Ind.*
Hartman, Helena.....*Richmond, Ind.*
Heilman, Annie.....*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Geo. Weinland, Hope, Ind.
Heilman, Susan.....*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Horace Solomon, deceased, Hope, Ind.
Hendrickson, Pamelia.....*St. Louis, Ind.*
Mrs. P. Wolf, Shelbyville, Ind.
Hinman, Bettie.....*Columbus, Ind.*
Mrs. Henry Davie, deceased, Columbus, Ind.
Holder, Charlotte.....*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. P. Redman, deceased, Tacoma, Wash.
Holland, Anna R.....*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. A. H. Thrapp, Hope, Ind.
Holland, Mary E.....*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Wm. H. Rice, Buffalo, N. Y.
Jones, Alice.....*Greencastle, Ind.*
Keehln, Addie.....*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. E. Williams, deceased, West.
Keehln, Mary.....*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Rob't Kent, deceased, Louisville, Ky.
Keller, Mary.....*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Amos White, deceased, Seymour, Ind.
Keller, Jeannette.....*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Geo. Raup, Flat Rock, Ind.
Keller, Matilda.....*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Martin Levering, Olney, Ill.
Kent, Mary.....*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. M. Venable, Louisville, Ky.
Kent, Martha.....*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. McMichaels, deceased, California.

NAMES.	RESIDENCES.
Langenour, Laura B.	*Hope, Ind.*
Lewis, Anna	*Shelbyville, Ind.*
Mrs. A. Fenton, Indianapolis, Ind.	
Lennert, Mary, deceased	*Hope, Ind.*
Link, Kitty, deceased	*Rushville, Ind.*
Longden, Mary	*St. Louis, Ind.*
McMurray, Lucy	*Tuscarawas, O.*
Mrs. F. H. Gentsch, New Philadelphia, O.	
Meyer, Mary Louisa	Louisville, Ky.
Mutz, Kate	*Edinburgh, Ind.*
Mrs. Dr. Francis, Edinburgh, Ind.	
Nauman, Louisa	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Charles Neighbors, Hope, Ind.	
Noble, Luella	*Hope, Ind.*
Norris, Ella	*Hope, Ind.*
Oglesby, Fannie, deceased	*Rushville, Ind.*
Paetzel, Clara	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Fulwider, Kan.	
Peter, Addie E.	*Gnadenhütten, O.*
Mrs. Aug. Schultze, Bethlehem, Pa.	
Porter, Emma	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Jasper Shields, deceased, Hope, Ind.	
Reed, Alice	*St. Louis, Ind.*
Mrs. Aug. Heilman, deceased, Hope, Ind.	
Reed, Caroline	*St. Louis, Ind.*
Reed, Susan	*St. Louis, Ind.*
Rominger, Adelaide C.	*Franklin, Ind.*
Rominger, Alice	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. O. Ziegner, deceased, Columbus, Ind.	
Rominger, Louisa	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Martin Bruner, Hope, Ind.	
Rudisill, Ella, deceased	*Alamo, Ind.*
Ruede, Alice, deceased	*Hope, Ind.*
Schweitzer, Mollie, deceased	*Shelbyville, Ind.*
Schutt, Louisa	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. L. Fleming, Indianapolis, Ind.	
Schutt, Mattie, deceased	*Hope, Ind.*
Schutt, Sarah	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Sarah Kersey, Indianapolis, Ind.	
Senff, Amelia	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. A. Thornton, deceased, Ala.	
Senseman, Emma	*Hope, Ind.*
Philadelphia, Pa.	
Shea, Mary A.	*Newbern, Ind.*
Mrs. W. Galbraith, deceased, Columbus, Ind.	
Schroeder, Mary	*Shelbyville, Ind.*

NAMES.	RESIDENCES.
Shultz, Cornelia	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Freeman Rominger, Hope, Ind.	
Simmons, Josephine	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. C. Coffee, Rigby, Ind.	
Simmons, Sarah Frances	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. J. J. Brannen, Hope, Ind.	
Smith, Emma L., deceased	*Sharon, O.*
Smith, Lizzie D.	*Sharon, O.*
Mrs. A. W. Benson, Maitland, Orange Co., Florida.	
Spaugh, Ella	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. H. Gay, Chicago, Ill.	
Spaugh, Lucinda, deceased	*Hope, Ind.*
Spaugh, Mary	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. J. Robbins, Eureka, Kan.	
Stapp, Carrie	*Aurora, Ind.*
Stewart, Jennie B.	*Gallipolis, O.*
Thomas, Mollie	*Columbus, Ind.*
Mrs. M. Sparrell, Indianapolis, Ind.	
Toner, Susan I.	*Edinburgh, Ind.*
Mrs. Chas. Hess, deceased, Indianapolis, Ind.	
Trinkley, Josephine	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Childs, Portland, Oregon.	
Uecke, Emma C.	*Freedom, Wis.*
Mrs. C. Madsen, Grand Rapids, Mich.	
Ward, Lydia A.	*West Salem, Ill.*
Mrs. W. Chamberlain, deceased, Vanita, Okla.	
Weinland, Anna	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Voight, West Salem, Ill.	
White, Mary F.	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Wesley Yost, Hope, Ind.	
Wilson, Josephine	Rushville, Ind.
Mrs. Claud Canburn.	
Zigler, Mary	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Anderson Shultz, deceased, Columbus, Ind.	

Indiana	85
Ohio	7
Kentucky	2
Iowa	3
Illinois	2
Wisconsin	1
Michigan	1
Total	101

THIRD SCHOLASTIC YEAR.

1869.

BOARD OF TRUSTEES.

Rev. Robert de Schweinitz,
Rev. Sylvester Wolle,
Rev. Lewis F. Kampmann,

OFFICERS AND TEACHERS.

Principal and Superintendent.
Rev. F. R. Holland.

Directress of the Household.
Mrs. Augusta E. Holland.

Resident Tutoresses and Teachers of the English Branches.
Miss Elizabeth W. Rondthaler, Miss S. H. Wolle,
Miss H. A. Lovejoy, Miss Esther W. Rondthaler,
Miss Mary McOrn, Miss Martha McOrn,
Miss A. W. Reichel.

Teacher of French and German.
Madame Marie L. Wirth.

Teachers of Instrumental Music.
Miss E. W. Rondthaler, Miss A. W. Reichel,
Miss Mary McOrn, Miss Martha McOrr,
Miss H. A. Lovejoy.

Teachers of Vocal Music.
Mrs. A. E. Holland, Miss Mary E. Holland,
Miss Mary McOrn.

Teacher of Drawing and Painting.
Mrs. Augusta E. Holland.

Teacher of Ornamental Work.
Miss Mary E. Holland.

PUPILS.

NAMES.	RESIDENCES.
Albright, Emma	*Hope, Ind.*
Bittrich, Anna	*Hope, Ind.*
Bittrich, Amelia	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Stirley Caruthers, deceased, Shelbyville, Ind.	
Blickensderfer, Cornelia	*Tuscarawas, O.*
Mrs. C. Boschè, deceased 1913, Austin, Texas.	
Blickensderfer, Mary	*Tuscarawas, O.*
Mrs. E. S. Russell, Alliance, O.	
Bliss, Flora B.	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Newton Bradley, Hope, Ind.	
Brumley, Anna	*Louisville, Ky.*
Mrs. Williams, Louisville, Ky.	
Boynton, Lillie G.	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. H. Smith, Indianapolis, Ind.	
Clarke, Mary Ruth	*Hope, Ind.*
Downs, Emma E.	*Columbus, Ind.*
Mrs. John Stobo, Columbus, Ind.	
Dresel, Elise W.	*Louisville, Ky.*
Present address, Evansville, Ind.	
Dusch, Lizzie	*Louisville, Ky.*
Mrs. Ludwig, Marietta, O.	
Eisenmeyer, Minnie	*Summerfield, Ill.*
Mrs. Bernhard Warkentin, Newton, Kansas.	
Eisenmeyer, Rosa	*Summerfield, Ill.*
Mrs. Charles Penzel, Little Rock, Ark.	
Eldridge, Julia	*Butlerville, Ind.*
Fishel, Harriet	*Hope, Ind.*
Present address, Indianapolis, Ind.	
Farrer, Maria	*Edinburgh, Ind.*
Grimes, Sarah E.	*Alamo, Ind.*
Gross, Anna M.	*Lock Seventeen, O.*
Mrs. List.	
Hahn, Isabel	*Detroit, Mich.*
Hammond, Emma	*Tipton, Iowa.*
Mrs. J. Nevin Neiman, deceased 1914, Des Moines, Iowa.	
Hartzel, Aracella	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Geo. Peters, Shelbyville, Ind.	
Hayes, Lizzie	*Cincinnati, O.*
Mrs. M. Dalmbert, Greensburg, Md.	
Heberhart, Mary E.	*Madison, Ind.*
Heilman, Anna A.	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Geo. Weinland, Hope, Ind.	

NAMES.	RESIDENCES.
Holland, Anna R.	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. A. H. Thrapp, Hope, Ind.	
Holland, Jennie E.	*Hope, Ind.*
N. S. Winterrowd, deceased, Atchison, Kan.	
Johnson, Rellie E., deceased	*Clifty, Ind.*
Johnston, Alice M., deceased	*New Philadelphia, O.*
Jones, Bessie	*Columbus, Ind.*
Mrs. Hamilton, deceased, Greensburg, Ind.	
Jones, Dora	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. N. Bradley, Hartsville, Ind.	
Jones, Lizzie	*Hope, Ind.*
Keehln, Addie	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Elmer Williams, deceased, Out West.	
Kent, Martha	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. McMichael, Cal.	
Kent, Mary	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Venable, Louisville, Ky.	
Kilgore, Ella	*Port Washington, O.*
Mrs. E. Emmerson, deceased, Port Washington.	
Kilgore, Romain R.	*Port Washington, O.*
Mrs. R. Armstrong, deceased, Indianapolis, Ind.	
Knauss, Lottie M.	*Tuscarawas, O.*
Mrs. Galbraith, Tuscarawas, O.	
Kron, Verona	*Evansville, Ind.*
Mrs. Knaus, deceased.	
Krumme, Helena	*Evansville, Ind.*
Lennert, Mary A.	*Hope, Ind.*
Levering, Alice	*Olney, Ill.*
McEwen, Mary	*Columbus, Ind.*
Mrs. Hamilton, deceased, Chicago, Ill.	
McEwen, Ruth, deceased	*Columbus, Ind.*
McGregor, Lizzie, deceased	*Bennington, Ind.*
McMurray, Lucy	*Tuscarawas, O.*
Mrs. F. H. Gentsch, New Philadelphia, O.	
Meyer, Louisa	*Louisville, Ky.*
Miller, Sarah	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Geo. Kemp, Hope, Ind.	
Mooney, Mary	*Columbus, Ind.*
Mrs. Montgomery, deceased, Columbus, Ind.	
Nauman, Louisa	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Charles Neighbors, Hope, Ind.	
Oglesby, Fannie, deceased	*Rushville, Ind.*
Perry, Kate	*Columbus, Ind.*
Perry, Maggie	*Columbus, Ind.*
Peter, Addie E.	*Gnadenhütten, O.*
Mrs. Dr. A. Schultze, Bethlehem, Pa.	

NAMES.	RESIDENCES.
Pfeiffer, Maggie	*Louisville, Ky.*
Mrs. Bryant, Louisville, Ky.	
Reed, Alice	*St. Louis, Ind.*
Mrs. Aug. Heilman, Hope, Ind.	
Rominger, Adelaide C.	*Franklin, Ind.*
Hope, Ind.	
Ross, Emma	*Rushville, Ind.*
Rudisill, Ella, deceased	*Alamo, Ind.*
Rushhaupt, Bertha	*Indianapolis, Ind.*
Mrs. Geo. Dixon, Indianapolis, Ind.	
Rushhaupt, Emma	*Indianapolis, Ind.*
Mrs. A. M. Kuhn, deceased, Indianapolis, Ind.	
Schutt, Sarah	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Kersey, Indianapolis, Ind.	
Schutt, Louisa	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Fleming, Indianapolis, Ind.	
Senff, Amelia	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Thornton, deceased.	
Senff, Anna	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Hart, Kansas.	
Senseman, Emma	*Hope, Ind.*
Philadelphia, Pa.	
Shields, Laura	*Columbus, Ind.*
Simm, Carrie	Louisville, Ky.
Mrs. Dusch.	
Simmons, Sarah Frances	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. J. J. Brannen, Hope, Ind.	
Smith, Emma L., deceased	*Sharon, O.*
Smith, Lizzie D.	*Sharon, O.*
Mrs. W. Benson, Maitland, Orange Co., Florida.	
Snider, Clara	*St. Louis Crossing, Ind.*
Mrs. Chas. Messick, St. Louis Crossing, Ind	
Spaugh, Ella	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. H. Gay, Chicago, Ill.	
Spaugh, Mary	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. J. Robbins, Ureka, Kan.	
Stapp, Ida M.	*Madison, Ind.*
Mrs. John McGreggor, Madison, Ind.	
Struble, Kate A.	*Taylorsville, Ind.*
Mrs. Jones, Taylorsville, Ind.	
Struble, Ursa M.	*Taylorsville, Ind.*
Mrs. Hayworth, Wichita, Kan.	
Thompson, Martha	*Waynesville, Ind*
Mrs. Spurgeon, Columbus, Ind.	
Thompson, Mary, deceased	*Waynesville, Ind.*

NAMES.	RESIDENCES.
Uecke, Emma C.	*Freedom, Wis.*
Mrs. C. Madsen, Grand Rapids, Wis.	
Walton, Emma	*Tuscarawas, O.*
Ward, Lydia	*West Salem, Ill.*
Mrs. W. Chamberlain, deceased, Vaneta, Okla.	
Weinland, Carrie	*Hope, Ind.*

Indiana	60
Ohio	13
Kentucky	6
Illinois	4
Iowa	1
Wisconsin	1
Michigan	1
Total	86

FOURTH SCHOLASTIC YEAR.

1870.

BOARD OF TRUSTEES.

Rev. Robert de Schweinitz,

Rev. Sylvester Wolle,

Rev. Lewis F. Kampmann,

OFFICERS AND TEACHERS.

Principal and Superintendent.

Rev. F. R. Holland.

Directress of the Household.

Mrs. Augusta E. Holland.

Resident Tutoresses and Teachers of the English Branches.

Miss Elizabeth W. Rondthaler,
Miss H. A. Lovejoy,
Mrs. J. B. Silliman, Atchison, Kan.
Miss Mary McOrn,
Miss Esther W. Rondthaler, Deceased.
Miss Martha McOrn,
Miss A. W. Reichel,
Miss Lucy McMurray,
Miss Addie E. Peter.

Teacher of French and German.

Madame Marie L. Wirth.

Teachers of Instrumental Music.

Miss Esther W. Rondthaler, (Deceased.)
Miss A. W. Reighel, Mrs. Warman, deceased.
Miss Mary McOrn,
Miss Martha McOrn,
Madame M. L. Wirth.

Teachers of Vocal Music.

Mrs. A. E. Holland,
Miss Mary E. Holland,

Teacher of Ornamental Work.

Miss Mary E. Holland.

PUPILS.

NAMES.	RESIDENCES.
Baer, Lizzie M.	*Summerfield, Ill.*
Baurmann, Huldah	*Louisville, Ky.*
Bittrich, Amelia	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. S. Caruthers, deceased, Shelbyville, Ind.	
Blair, Eva	*Shelbyville, Ind.*
Blair, Flora	*Shelbyville, Ind.*
Blickensderfer, Mary	*Tuscarawas, O.*
Mrs. E. Russell, Alliance, O.	
Bliss, Flora	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Newton Bradley, Hope, Ind.	
Boynton, Lillie	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Harry Smith, Indianapolis, Ind.	
Bredeweg, Caroline	*Quincy, Ill.*
Brumley, Anna	*Louisville, Ky.*
Mrs. Williams, Louisville, Ky.	
Clark, Mollie	*Hope, Ind.*
Dresel, Elise W.	*Louisville, Ky.*
Present address, Evansville, Ky.	
Eisenmeyer, Minnie	*Summerfield, Ill.*
Mrs. Bernard Warkentin, Newton, Kan.	
Enderlin, Regina	*Lauisville, Ky.*
Mrs. R. Koch, Louisville, Ky.	
Ensley, Ellie	*Shelby Co., Ind.*
Mrs. Ella Hawkins, Shelbyville, Ind.	
Farrer, Maria	*Edinburgh, Ind.*
Gard, Lizzie	*Hope, Ind.*
Gilmour, Mollie	*Forest Hill, Ind.*
Gramm, Emily	*Oakland, Ind.*
Mrs. Baehr, Hill City, Minn.	
Hahn, Isabelle	*Detroit, Mich.*
Hall, Anna	*Cincinnati, O.*
Hall, Rebecca	*Cincinnati, O.*
Handrick, Maria	*Hope, Ind.*
Harris, Rose	*Port Washington, O.*
Mrs. Thomas Barnes, Neb.	
Hartzell, Arracilla	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Geo. Peters, Shelbyville, Ind.	
Hege, Anna	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. A. Clark, Denver, Col.	
Heilman, Anna	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Geo. Weinland, Hope, Ind.	

NAMES.	RESIDENCES.
Holland, Jane E.	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Noble S. Winterrowd, deceased, Atchison, Kan.	
Hunter, Olive	*Columbus, Ind.*
Jarvis, Anna	*Hope, Ind.*
Johnson, Addie B.	*Clifty, Ind.*
Colony, Kansas.	
Johnston, Alice, deceased	*New Philadelphia, O.*
Keehln, Addie	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. E. Williams, deceased, Out West.	
Kilgore, Ella	*Port Washington, O.*
Mrs. Dr. Emmerson, deceased.	
Kron, Verona	*Evansville, Ind.*
Mrs. Knaus, deceased.	
Krumme, Helena	*Evansville, Ind.*
Kuhlenhoelter, Minna	*Quincy, Ill.*
Lennert, Mary, deceased	*Hope, Ind.*
Lewis, Blanch, deceased	*Madison, Ind.*
Link, Texas	*Rushville, Ind.*
Mrs. M. Johnson, Rushville, Ind.	
Logan, Jane	*Edinburgh, Ind.*
Logan, Mary	*Edinburgh, Ind.*
Marlow, Mollie	*Forest Hill, Ind.*
McEwen, Mary	*Columbus, Ind.*
Mrs. Hamilton, deceased, Chicago, Ill.	
McEwen, Ruth, deceased	*Columbus, Ind.*
Miller, Sarah	*Bartholomew Co., Ind.*
Mrs. Geo. Kemp, Hope, Ind.	
Nauman, Louisa	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Charles Neighbors, Hope, Ind.	
Oglesby, Fannie, deceased	*Rushville, Ind.*
Pfeiffer, Maggie	*Louisville, Ky.*
Mrs. Bryant, Louisville, Ky.	
Ramsey, India	*Indianapolis, Ind.*
Mrs. I. Spitz, Indianapolis, Ind.	
Rebhan, Sarah	*Louisville, Ky.*
Mrs. S. Pegram, Louisville, Ky.	
Reeve, Anna	*New Salem, Ind.*
Rominger, Adelaide C.	*Franklin, Ind.*
Rominger, Alice	*Bartholomew Co., Ind.*
Mrs. O. Ziegner, Columbus, Ind.	
Roope, Anna	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. James Pell, Indianapolis, Ind.	
Routh, Jennie P.	*St. Joseph, Mo.*
Rushhaupt, Bertha	*Indianapolis, Ind.*
Mrs. Geo. Dixon, Indianapolis, Ind.	
Schmidt, Annie	*New Bremen, O.*

NAMES.	RESIDENCES.
Schmull, Emma	*Indianapolis, Ind.*
Schmutt, Sarah	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Kersey, Indianapolis, Ind.	
Schutt, Louisa	*Indianapolis, Ind.*
Mrs. L. Fleming, Indianapolis, Ind.	
Senff, Amelia	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. A. Thornton, deceased, Ala.	
Senseman, Emma	*Hope, Ind.*
Smith, Emma L., deceased	*Sharon, O.*
Smith, Lizzie D.	*Sharon, O.*
Mrs. A. W. Benson, Maitland, Orange Co., Fla.	
Smith, Mary	*Clifford, Ind.*
Smiley, Mary, deceased	*Forest Hill, Md.*
Spaugh, Ella	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Harry Gay, Cricago, Ill.	
Stempel, Adele	*Long Grove, Ill.*
Thompson, Mattie	*Waynesville, Ind.*
Mrs. Spurgeon, Columbus, Ind.	
Thompson, Mary	*Waynesville, Ind.*
Mrs. Newsome, deceased.	
Tousey, Kate V.	*Indianapolis, Ind.*
Uecke, Emily	*Freedom, Wis.*
Mrs. Francis R. Dittmer, Seymour, Wis.	
Vogler, Louisa	*Bothwell, Ont.*
Ward, Clara	*West Salem, Ill.*
Trained Nurse, New York City.	
Ward, Lydia	*West Salem, Ill.*
Mrs. W. Chamberlain, deceased, Vanita, Okla.	
Weinland, Carrie	*Hope, Ind.*
Wiemeyer, Anna	*New Bremen, O.*
Wiemeyer, Sophia	*New Bremen, O.*
Williams, Charity	*Flatrock, Ind.*
Mrs. Martin Cutsinger, Edinburgh, Ind.	
Wohlfarth, Mary	*Green Bay, Wis.*
Mrs. H. Hein, West Green Bay, Wis.	

Indiana	52
Ohio	11
Kentucky	7
Illinois	7
Wisconsin	3
Michigan	1
Louisiana	1
Ontario	1
Total	83

FIFTH SCHOLASTIC YEAR.

1871

BOARD OF TRUSTEES.

Rev. Robert de Schweinitz,
Rev. Sylvester Wolle,
Rev. Lewis F. Kampmann,

OFFICERS AND TEACHERS.

Principal and Superintendent.
Rev. F. R. Holland.

Directress of the Household.
Mrs. Augusta E. Holland.

Resident Tutoresses and Teachers of the English Branches.

Miss Mary McOrn,
Miss Lucy McMurray,
Miss Addie E. Peter,
Miss Augusta Lichtenthaeler,
Miss Anna Luckenbach,
Miss Kittie Leak,
Miss Emma Blickensderfer,
(Mrs. Titze.)

Teacher of French and German.
Madame Marie Wirth,
Deceased.

Teacher of Instrumental Music.
Mr. E. L. Schulze,
Miss Mary McOrn,
Miss Augusta Lichtenthaeler.

Teachers of Vocal Music.
Miss Mary E. Holland,
Miss Anna R. Holland.

Teacher of Drawing and Painting.
Mrs. Augusta E. Holland.

Teacher of Ornamental Work.
Miss Mary E. Holland.

PUPILS.

NAMES.	RESIDENCES.
Adams, Mollie	*Hope, Ind.*
Bachman, Sarah	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. M. O. Wooley, Hope, Ind.	
Baer, Lizzie M.	*Summerville, Ill.*
Barth, Emma	*Cincinnati, O.*
Mrs. Samuel Gabbert, deceased, Ashland, Kan.	
Bauerman, Huldah	*Louisville, Ky.*
Bauerman, Martha	*Louisville, Ky.*
Boynton, Lillie	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Harry B. Smith, Indianapolis, Ind.	
Boynton, Mary A.	*Elizabethtown, Ind.*
Brederweg, Caroline	*Quincy, Ill.*
Brumley, Anna	*Louisville, Ky.*
Mrs. Williams, Louisville, Ky.	
Carney, Lottie	*Flatrock, Ind.*
Childers, Mary	*Scipio, Ind.*
Clendening, Emma	*Sardinia, Ind.*
Craig, Anna B.	*Madison, Wis.*
Mrs. J. B. Safford, Crafton, Pa.	
Cutsinger, Hannah B.	*Edinburgh, Ind.*
Cutsinger, India R.	*Edinburgh, Ind.*
Mrs. Dietrick, Franklin, Ind.	
Daily, Emma	*Hope, Ind.*
Daily, Ida	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Chas. B. Riley, Indianapolis, Ind.	
Daily, Lenna	*Indianapolis, Ind.*
De Golier, Eda	*Cincinnati, O.*
Mrs. Randall, deceased.	
Detterer, Caroline	*Green Bay, Wis.*
Mrs. Ernst. Weber, deceased, Alaska.	
Elliott, Martha	*Clifty, Ind.*
Enderlin, Regina	*Louisville, Ky.*
Mrs. R. H. Koch, Louisville, Ky.	
Ensley, Ellie	*Flat Rock, Ind.*
Mrs. E. Hawkins, Shelbyville, Ind.	
Estel, Caroline H.	*St. Louis, Mo.*
Mrs. Dr. G. S. Schurricht, St. Louis, Mo.	
Fishel, Harriet	*Hope, Ind.*
Feurig, Emma	*Watertown, Wis.*
Mrs. Michelstetter, Appleton, Wis.	
Gard, Lizzie	*Hope, Ind.*
Gartin, Nannie	*Forest Hill, Ind.*

NAMES. RESIDENCES.

Gramm, Emily.....*Oakland, Ind.*
Mrs. Rev. C. Baehr, Hill City, Minn.
Gregg, Lina.....*Alert, Ind.*
Hall, Anna.....*Cincinnati, O.*
Hall, Rebecca.....*Cincinnati, O.*
Harris, Rose.....*Port Washington, O.*
Hartzell, Aracilla.....*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Geo. Peters, Shelbyville, Ind.
Hildebrand, Katie.....*Indianapolis, Ind.*
Mrs. Ed. J. Clark, Shelbyville, Ind.
Hunter, Olive.....*Columbus, Ind.*
Irion, Minna.....*Femme, Osage, Mo.*
Mrs. Rev. Jacob Irion, St. Louis, Mo.
Jones, Dora.....*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. N. Bradley, deceased, Hope, Ind.
Johnston, Lizzie F.....*Ann Arbor, Mich.*
Johnston, Viola, deceased.....*New Philadelphia, O.*
Keehln, Addie.....*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. E. Williams, deceased, Texas.
Kemp, May.....*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. A. R. Renton, Morristown, Ind.
Kron, Verona.....*Evansville, Ind.*
Mrs. Knaus, deceased.
Kuhlenhoelter, Minna.....*Quincy, Ill.*
Leggett, Laura Alice.....*Edinburg, Ind.*
Mrs. D. Webb, deceased, Edinburgh, Ind.
Link, Texas.....*Rushville, Ind.*
Mrs. Margaret Johnson, Rushville, Ind.
Logan, Jane.....*Edinburgh, Ind.*
Logan, Mary.....*Edinburgh, Ind.*
Lochenour, Laura.....*Olney, Ill.*
Meek, Laura.....*Louisville, Ky.*
Miller, Sarah.....*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Geo. Kemp, Hope, Ind.
Nauman, Louisa.....*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Charles Neighbors, Hope, Ind.
Newcomb, Edith.....*Whitewater, Wis.*
Nuelsen, Clara, deceased.....*Cincinnati, O.*
Ogelsby, Fannie, deceased.....*Rushville, Ind.*
Pfeiffer, Maggie.....*Louisville, Ky.*
Mrs. M. Bryant, Louisville, Ky.
Philbrick, Mattie.....*Edinburgh, Ind.*
Porter, Fena.....*St. Louis, Ind.*
Mrs. Rev. Duncan, Franklin, Ind.
Porter, Mary.....*St. Louis, Ind.*
Mrs. S. Nading, deceased, Hope, Ind.

NAMES.	RESIDENCES.
Porter, Mattie	
Mrs. S. Nading, Connersville, Ind.	
Ramsey, India	*Columbus, Ind.*
Mrs. Spitz, Indianapolis, Ind.	
Rhodes, Nina	*Canal Dover, O.*
Mrs. William Kreiter, Toledo, O.	
Rice, Emma	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Charles Albright, deceased, Hope, Ind.	
Richards, Joyce	*Boxley, Ind.*
Roope, Anna	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. James Pell, Indianapolis, Ind.	
Routh, Jeanie P.	*St. Joseph, Mo.*
Rothrock, Alice	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. C. Slocum, Indianapolis, Ind.	
Schnull, Emma	*Indianapolis, Ind.*
Schuler, Marie	*Greyville, Ill.*
Deceased, Herrnhut, Germany.	
Senff, Amelia	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. A. Thornton, deceased, Alabama.	
Senseman, Emma	*Hope, Ind.*
Philadelphia, Pa.	
Schutt, Louisa	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. L. Fleming, Indianapolis, Ind.	
Schutt, Sarah	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Kersey, Indianapolis, Ind.	
Shultz, Belle	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. G. B. Stapp, Columbus, Ind.	
Shultz, Mary F.	*Hope, Ind.*
Shultz, Miranda	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. J. C. Fishel, Hope, Ind.	
Spaugh, Cassie	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. C. Daugherty, deceased, Indianapolis, Ind.	
Spaugh, Ellen L.	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. E. Pickard, Hope, Ind	
Stempel, Adele	*Long Grove, Ill.*
Struble, Katie	*Taylorsville, Ind.*
Mrs. Dr. Jones, deceased, Taylorsville, Ind.	
Struble, Ursa	*Taylorsville, Ind.*
Mrs. Hayworth, Kansas.	
Smith, Mary	*Clifford, Ind.*
Thompson, Mary	*Waynesville, Ind.*
Mrs. Newsome, deceased.	
Thompson, Mattie	*Waynesville, Ind.*
Mrs. Spurgeon, Columbus, Ind.	
Toner, Margaret, deceased	*Edinburgh, Ind.*

NAMES.	RESIDENCES.
Uecke, Augusta	*Freedom, Wis.*
Mrs. Herbert C. Scofield, Sturgeon Bay, Wis.	
Uecke, Emily	*Freedom, Wis.*
Mrs. Francis R. Dittmer, Seymour, Wis.	
Vogler, Louisa	*Bothwell, Ont.*
Ward, Clara	*West Salem, Ill.*
Trained Nurse, New York City.	
Ward, Lydia	*West Salem, Ill.*
Mrs. W. Chamberlain, deceased, Vanita, Okla.	
Weinland, Carrie	*Hope, Ind.*
White, Ida	*Edinburgh, Ind.*
Williams, Charity	Flatrock, Ind.
Mrs. Martin Cutsinger, Edinburgh, Ind.	
Winterrowd, Alice	*Winterrowd, Ind.*
Wolfarth, Mary	*Fort Howard, Wis.*
Mrs. H. Hein, West Green Bay, Wis.	

Indiana	68
Ohio	8
Illinois	8
Kentucky	6
Wisconsin	6
Missouri	2
Michigan	1
Louisiana	1
Ontario	1
Total	101

SIXTH AND SEVENTH SCHOLASTIC YEARS
1872-1873.

BOARD OF TRUSTEES.

Rev. Robert de Schweinitz,
Rev. Sylvester Wolle,
Rev. Lewis F. Kampmann,

OFFICERS AND TEACHERS.

Principal and Superintendent.
Rev. F. R. Holland.

Directress of the Household.
Mrs. Augusta E. Holland.

Professor of Music.
Mr. F. A. Albrecht.

Resident Tutoresses.

Miss Lucy McMurray,
Miss Kittie Leak,
Miss Emma Hammond,
Miss Lizzie Tweed,*
Mrs. Robinson.
Miss Emma Blickensderfer,*
Mrs. Titze.
Miss Augusta Lichtenthaler,*
Miss Addie Peter,
Miss Mary McOrn,
Miss Elise Dresel,†
Miss Anna R. Holland.†

Teachers of French.

Rev. L. R. Huebner,*
Miss Elise Dresel,†

Teachers of German.

Miss Elise Dresel,
Miss Lucy McMurray.

Teachers of Instrumental Music.

Miss Emma Hammond,
Miss Mary McOrn,
Miss Elise Dresel.

Teachers of Vocal Music.

Miss Anna R. Holland,
Miss Emma Hammond,

Teacher of Drawing, Painting and Ornamental Work.
Mrs. Augusta E. Holland.

*Till June, 1872. †From September 1, 1872.

PUPILS.

NAMES.	1871-1872	RESIDENCES.
Bachman, Sarah		*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. M. O. Wooley, Hope, Ind.		
Barth, Emma		*Cincinnati, O.*
Mrs. Samuel Gabbert, deceased, Ashland, Kan.		
Barth, Ida		*Cincinnati, O.*
Mrs. C. H. Hoffman, Cincinnati, O.		
Beitel, Sarah A.		*Hope, Ind.*
Billiard, Addie		*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. James Rights, Indianapolis, Ind.		
Billiard, Dema		*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. M. Hartzel, Hope, Ind.		
Bittrich, Anna		*Hope, Ind.*
Breining, Ida		*Columbus, Ind.*
Brumley, Anna		*Louisville, Ky.*
Mrs. Williams, Louisville, Ky.		
Butler, Jennie, deceased		*Milford, Ind.*
Carney, Lottie		*Flatrock, Ind.*
Clark, Alice		*Columbus, Ind.*
Mrs. McCullough, Columbus, Ind.		
Cassell, Clara		*Greensburg, Ind.*
Coons, Laura		*St. Louis, Mo.*
Craig, Anna B.		*Madison, Ind.*
Mrs. J. B. Safford, Crafton, Pa.		
Detterer, Caroline		*Green Bay, Wis.*
Mrs. Ernst Weber, deceased, Alaska.		
Ensley, Ella		*Flat Rock, Ind.*
Mrs. Hawkins, Shelbyville, Ind.		
Ensley, Rachel		*Edinburgh, Ind.*
Estel, Anna M.		*St. Louis, Mo.*
Mrs. C. Lange, St. Louis, Mo.		
Feurig, Emma		*Watertown, Wis.*
Mrs. W. Michelstetter, Appleton, Wis.		
Gramm, Emily		*Cincinnati, O.*
Mrs. Rev. C. Baehr, Hill City, Minn.		
Hall, Rebecca		*Louisville, Ky.*
Hartmann, Talitha		*Chicago, Ill.*
Mrs. Robt. Kohlsatt, deceased October, 1916, Los Angeles, Cal.		
Hartzell, Aracilla		*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Geo. Peters, Shelbyville, Ind.		
Hill, Florence, deceased		*Columbus, Ind.*
Hill, Mamie		*Columbus, Ind.*
Mrs. Mayfield, Indianapolis, Ind.		

NAMES.	RESIDENCES.
Holland, Jane E.	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. N. S. Winterrowd, Atchison, Kan.	
Huebener, Carrie	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. F. Detterer, Bethlehem, Pa.	
Irion, Minna	*Femme, Osage, Mo.*
Mrs. Rev. Jacob Irion, deceased, St. Louis, Mo.	
Israel, Hermine	*West Salem, Ill.*
Mrs. William Frank, Riverton, N. J.	
Jenkins, Laura B.	*Cincinnati, O.*
Jerome, Emma	*Saginaw City, Mich.*
Johnston, Viola, deceased	*New Philadelphia, O.*
Jones, Dora	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. N. Bradley, deceased, Hartsville, Ind.	
Jones, Florence	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. J. Phillippy, Summitville, Ind.	
Keehln, Addie	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. E. Williams, West.	
Ketterer, Amelia	*Miltonsburg, O.*
Legate, Alice	*Edinburgh, Ind.*
Mrs. D. Webb, deceased, Edinburgh, Ind.	
Mooney, Lizzie	*Columbus, Ind.*
Mrs. N. R. Keyes, deceased, Columbus, Ind.	
Nauman, Louisa	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Charles Neighbors, Hope, Ind.	
Neligh, Ida	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. F. Specht, Indianapolis, Ind.	
Ramsey, India	*Charleston, Ind.*
Mrs. Spitz, Indianapolis, Ind.	
Reed, Alice	*St. Louis, Ind.*
Mrs. Aug. Heilman, deceased, Hope, Ind.	
Rhodes, Nina	*Canal Dover, O.*
Mrs. W. Kreiter, Toledo, O.	
Roope, Anna M.	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. J. Pell, Indianapolis, Ind.	
Schmidt, Sophia	*New Bremen, O.*
Senff, Amelia	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. A. Thornton, deceased, Ala.	
Senff, Anna	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Dr. Hart, West.	
Senseman, Emma	*Olney, Ill.*
Philadelphia, Pa.	
Schuler, Marie	*Greyville, Ill.*
Deceased, Herrnhut, Germany.	
Shultz, Belle	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Geo. Stapp, Columbus, Ind.	
Shultz, Mary F.	*Hope, Ind.*

NAMES.	RESIDENCES.
Shultz, Miranda	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. J. C. Fishel, Hope, Ind.	
Simmons, Frances	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. J. J. Brannen, Hope, Ind.	
Smith, Mary	*Flat Rock, Ind.*
Spaugh, Catherine	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Cassie Daugherty, deceased, Indianapolis, Ind.	
Spaugh, Ellen L.	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. F. Pickard, Hope, Ind.	
Stempel, Minna	*Long Grove, Ill.*
Stussel, Sophia	*Louisville, Ky.*
Mrs. Sanaman, Louisville, Ky.	
Thompson, Martha	*Waynesville, Ind.*
Mrs. Spurgeon, Columbus, Ind.	
Thompson, Mary, deceased	*Waynesville, Ind.*
Toner, Maggie A., deceased	*Edinburgh, Ind.*
Uecke, Augusta	*Freedom, Wis.*
Mrs. Herbert C. Scofield, Sturgeon Bay, Wis.	
Uecke, Emily	*Freedom, Wis.*
Mrs. Francis R. Dittmer, Seymour, Wis.	
Vogler, Louisa M.	*Bothwell, Ont.*
Ward, Clara	*West Salem, Ill.*
Trained Nurse, New York City.	
Williams, Ella A.	*Edinburgh, Ind.*
Wolfarth, Mary	*Fort Howard, Wis.*
Mrs. H. Hein, Green Bay, Wis.	
Zigler, Lillie	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Cunningham, deceased, Indianapolis, Ind.	

SENIOR CLASS OF 1872.

NAMES.	RESIDENCES.
Anna Brumley	*Louisville, Ky.*
Emma Barth	*Cincinnati, O.*
Martha Thompson	*Waynesville, Ind.*
Mary Thompson	*Waynesville, Ind.*

PUPILS, 1872-1873.

NAMES.	RESIDENCES.
Arwine, Hattie	*Columbus, Ind.*
Bachman, Sarah	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. M. O. Wooley, Hope, Ind.	
Billiard, Addie	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. J. Rights, Indianapolis, Ind.	

NAMES.	RESIDENCES.
Billiard, Dema	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Mumford Hartzel, Hope, Ind.	
Bode, Minna	*Chicago, Ill.*
Carter, Jessie	*St. Louis Crossing, Ind.*
Cassell, Clara	*Greensburg, Ind.*
Craig, Anna B.	*Madison, Ind.*
Mrs. J. B. Safford, Crafton, Pa.	
DeLong, Emma V.	*Summerfield, Ill.*
Detterer, Caroline	*Green Bay, Wis.*
Mrs. Ernst Weber, deceased, Alaska.	
Eisenmeyer, Mary	*Mascoutah, Ill.*
Mrs. Dr. Fuchs, Mascoutah, Ill.	
Eisenmeyer, Amelia	*Summerfield, Ill.*
Mrs. A. Hecker, Kansas City, Mo.	
Gramm, Emily	*Cincinnati, O.*
Mrs. Rev. C. Baehr, Hill City, Minn.	
Hartmann, Talitha	*Chicago, Ill.*
Mrs. Robt. Kohlsatt, deceased October, 1916, Los Angeles, Cal.	
Heinicke, Amelia	*St. Louis, Mo.*
Mrs. A. Baer, Le Grand, Iowa.	
Hill, Florence, deceased	*Columbus, Ind.*
Hill, Mary	*Columbus, Ind.*
Mrs. Mayfield, Indianapolis, Ind.	
Holland, Jane E.	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. N. S. Winterrowd, deceased, Atchison, Kan.	
Huebener, Carrie	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. F. Detterer, Bethlehem, Pa.	
Israel, Hermina	*West Salem, Ill.*
Mrs. W. Frank, Palmyra, N. J.	
Jenkins, Laura B.	*Cincinnati, O.*
Johnson, Addie	*Clifty, Ind.*
Jones, Florence	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. John Philippy, Summitville, Ind.	
Keehln, Addie	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. E. Williams, deceased, West.	
Kendall, Laura	*Mount Auburn, Ind.*
Ketterer, Amelia	*Miltonsburg, O.*
Kilgore, Maggie R.	*Port Washington, O.*
Mrs. McDonald, deceased, Port Washington, O.	
Knobelsdorf, Ida, deceased	*Chicago, Ill.*
Lassig, Emma	*Chicago, Ill.*
Mrs. Bartholomew, Heidelberg, Germany.	

NAMES.	RESIDENCES.
Luethi, Anna	*Gnadenhuetten, O.*
Mrs. A. Richards, deceased, New Philadelphia, O.	
Myers, Edith A.	*Milford, Ind.*
Mrs. Hill, Alliance, Neb.	
Mutz, Etoile B.	*Edinburgh, Ind.*
Mrs. W. M. Pierson, Morristown, Ind.	
Nauman, Louisa	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Charles Neighbors, Hope, Ind.	
Porter, Mattie, deceased	*Hope, Ind.*
Ramsey, India	*Charleston, Ind.*
Mrs. Spitz, Indianapolis, Ind.	
Ramsey, Lizzie	*Charleston, Ind.*
Mrs. Selby, Charleston, Ind.	
Rhodes, Nina	*Canal Dover, O.*
Mrs. Kreiter, Toledo, O.	
Roope, Anna M.	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. J. Pell, Indianapolis, Ind.	
Russell, Catherine	*Urichsville, O.*
Mrs. Romig, Urichsville, O.	
Sater, Marilda	*Elizabethtown, Ind.*
Schuler, Marie	*Greyville, Ill.*
Deceased, Herrnhut, Germany.	
Senseman, Emma	*Olney, Ill.*
Schade, Anna	*St. Louis, Mo.*
Mrs. Rev. M. Hein, Pittsburgh, Pa.	
Shultz, Mary F.	*Hope, Ind.*
Shultz, Belle	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Geo. B. Stapp, Columbus, Ind.	
Shultz, Miranda	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. J. C. Fishel, Hope, Ind.	
Smiley, Mary	*Forest Hill, Ind.*
Snepp, Elvira	*Edinburgh, Ind.*
Spaugh, Ellen L.	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. F. Pickard, Hope, Ind.	
Stanley, Nannie	*Madison, Ind.*
Mrs. N. Phillips, Indianapolis, Ind.	
Stanley, Stella	*Madison, Ind.*
Stausifer, Mary B.	*Columbus, Ind.*
Mrs. M. Clark, Chicago, Ill.	
Stempel, Minna	*Long Grove, Ill.*
Stumph, Sarah	*Indianapolis, Ind.*
Mrs. S. Nimal, Indianapolis, Ind.	
Stussel, Minna	*Louisville, Ky.*
Swiggett, Lenna L.	*Cambridge City, Ind.*
Thomas, Carrie	*Columbus, Ind.*
Mrs. Bostwick, Colorado.	

NAMES.	RESIDENCES.
Toner, Maggie A., deceased	*Edinburgh, Ind.*
Trimble, Mira	*Milford, Ind.*
Uecke, Augusta	*Freedom, Wis.*
Mrs. Herbert C. Scofield, Sturgeon, Wis.	
Uecke, Emily	*Freedom, Wis.*
Mrs. Francis R. Dittmer, Seymour, Wis.	
Vickery, Mary	*Tipton, Ind.*
Vogler, Louisa M.	*Bothwell, Ont.*
Ward, Clara	*West Salem, Ill.*
Trained Nurse, New York City.	
Woesner, Hattie	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Long, Indianapolis, Ind.	
Wilkins, Emma	*Worthington, Ind.*
Williams, Ella A.	*Edinburgh, Ind.*
Winchester, Catherine	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Smith, Greensburg, Ind.	
Winterburg, Katie	*Edinburgh, Ind.*
Zigler, Lillie	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. L. Cunningham, Indianapolis, Ind.	

SENIOR CLASS, 1873.

NAMES.	RESIDENCES.
Craig, Anna B.	*Madison, Ind.*
Jones, Florence	*Hope, Ind.*
Ketterer, Amelia	*Miltonsburg, O.*
Uecke, Augusta	*Freedom, Wis.*
Vogler, Louisa M.	*Bothwell, Ont.*

Indiana	67
Ohio	12
Illinois	12
Missouri	5
Wisconsin	5
Kentucky	4
Michigan	1
Ontario	1
Total	107

EIGHTH SCHOLASTIC YEAR

1874.

BOARD OF TRUSTEES.

Rev. Robert de Schweinitz,
Rev. Lewis F. Kampmann,
Rev. F. R. Holland.

Note.—Rev. Sylvester Wolle died in 1873.

OFFICERS AND TEACHERS.

Principal and Superintendent.
Rev. F. R. Holland.

Directress of the Household.
Mrs. Augusta E. Holland.

Professor of Music.
Mr. F. A. Albrecht.

Resident Tutoresses.

Miss Lucy McMurray,
Miss Elise Dresel,
Miss Addie E. Peter,
Miss Emma Barth,
Miss Kittie Leak,
Miss Mattie Thompson.*

Teacher of French.
Miss Elise Dresel.

Teachers of German.

Miss Elise Dresel,
Miss Emma Barth.

Teacher of Instrumental Music.
Miss Elise Dresel.

Teacher of Vocal Music.
Miss Anna R. Holland.

Teacher of Drawing, Painting and Ornamental Work.
Mrs. Augusta E. Holland.

*Till December, 1873.

PUPILS SENIOR CLASS.

NAMES.	1868.	RESIDENCES.
Gower, Hebe F.		*Hot Springs, Ark.*
	Mrs. Rector.	
Holland, Mary E.		*York, Pa.*
	Mrs. Rice.	
	1869.	
McMurray, Lucy		*Tuscarawas, O.*
Hammond, Emma		*Tipton, Iowa.*
Peter, Addie E.		*Gnadenhütten, O.*
	1870.	
Dresel Elise		*Louisville, Ky.*
Blickensderfer, Mary		*Tuscarawas, O.*
Rominger, Adelaide C.		*New Albany.*
Kilgore, Ella		*Port Washington, O.*
Smith, Lizzie D.		*Chaska, Minn.*
Miller, Sarah		*Hope, Ind.*
	1872.	
Brumley, Anna		*Louisville, Ky.*
Barth, Emma		*Cincinnati, O.*
Thompson, Martha		*Waynesville, Ind.*
Thompson, Mary		*Waynesville, Ind.*
	1873.	
Craig, Anna B.		*Madison, Ind.*
Williams, Ella		*Edinburgh, Ind.*
Ketterer, Amelia		*Miltonsburgh, O.*
Uecke, Augusta		*Freedom, Wis.*
Vogler, Louisa M.		*Bothwell, Ont.*
	1874.	
Hartman, Talitha		*Chicago, Ill.*
Hill, Florence		*Columbus, Ind.*
Jones, Florence		*Hope, Ind.*
Kilgore, Maggie B.		*Port Washington, O.*
Luethi, Anna		*Gnadenhütten, O.*
Senseman, Emma		*Olney, Ill.*
Smiley, Mary		*Forest Hill, Ind.*
Uecke, Emily		*Freedom, Wis.*
Wilkins, Emma		*Worthington, Ind.*
Winchester, Kate		*Hope, Ind.*

PUPILS.

1873-1874.

NAMES.	RESIDENCES.
Bachman, Sarah	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. M. O. Wooley, Hope, Ind.	
Baehr, Lizzie	*Cleveland, O.*
Mrs. L. Laisy, deceased.	
Baer, Barbara	*Summerfield, Ill.*
Billiard, Addie	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. J. Rights, Indianapolis, Ind.	
Billiard, Dema	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. M. Hartzel, Hope, Ind.	
Black, Marietta, deceased	*Forest Hill, Ind.*
Black, Martha	*Indianapolis, Ind.*
Mrs. Gipe, Indianapolis, Ind.	
Bode, Minna	*Chicago, Ill.*
Buehler, Louisa	*Chicago, Ill.*
Mrs. Otto Peuser, Wiesbaden, Germany.	
Burcham, Alice	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Jones, Hope, Ind.	
Coleman, Emma	*Winterrowd, Ind.*
Mrs. Williams, Flatrock Cave, Ind.	
Compton, Flora	*Edinburgh, Ind.*
Davidson, Estelle	*Madison, Ind.*
Mrs. Dr. Baker, Fairfield, Iowa.	
Detterer, Caroline	*Greensburg, Ind.*
Mrs. Ernst Weber, deceased, Alaska.	
Dresel, Emilie	*Louisville, Ky.*
Evansville, Ind.	
Eaton, Florence	*Fairview, Ill.*
Eisenmeyer, Mary	*Mascoutah, Ill.*
Mrs. Dr. Fuchs, deceased, Mascoutah, Ill.	
Frank, Julia	*Louisville, Ky.*
Mrs. J. Heick, Louisville, Ky.	
George, Carrie	*Little Rock, Ark.*
Mrs. John Wherry, Little Rock, Ark.	
Godfrey, Febronia	*Chicago, Ill.*
Gramm, Emily	*Keokuk, Iowa.*
Mrs. Rev. C. Baehr, Hill City, Minn.	
Hartmann, Talitha	*Chicago, Ill.*
Mrs. Robt. Kohlsatt, deceased October, 1916, Los Angeles, Cal.	
Heilmann, Minnie	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Albert Snider, St. Louis, Ind.	
Hereth, Matilda	*Indianapolis, Ind.*
Mrs. M. Weber, Indianapolis, Ind.	

NAMES.	RESIDENCES.
Heinicke, Amelia	*St. Louis, Mo.*
Mrs. A. Baer, Le Grand, Iowa.	
Hill, Florence, deceased	*Columbus, Ind.*
Hogue, Emma	*Columbus, Ind.*
Mrs. E. Frost, Columbus, Ind.	
Holland, Jennie E.	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. N. S. Winterrowd, deceased, Atchison, Kan.	
Irving, Belle	*Indianapolis, Ind.*
Mrs. J. Q. Adams, deceased 1881, New York City.	
Israel, Hermine	*West Salem, Ill.*
Mrs. William Frank, Riverton, N. J.	
Jacob, Anna	*Cincinnati, O.*
Jones, Florence	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. J. Philippy, Summitville, Ind.	
Katzenbach, Emilie	*Terre Haute, Ind.*
Keehln, Addie	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. E. Williams, deceased, Out West.	
Kilgore, Maggie R.	*Port Washington, O.*
Mrs. O'Donnell, deceased, Port Washington, O.	
Klingler, Theresa	*Chicago, Ill.*
Kramer, Louisa	*Little Rock, Ark.*
Mrs. Darragh. Deceased, 1913.	
Lawrence, Viola	*Hope, Ind.*
Luethi, Anna	*Gnadenhütten, O.*
Mrs. Richards, deceased, New Philadelphia, O.	
Michael, Emma, deceased	*Hope, Ind.*
Mutz, Etoile B.	*Edinburgh, Ind.*
Mrs. W. N. Pierson, Morristown, Ind.	
Miller, Florence	*Hope, Ind.*
Nauman, Louisa	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Charles Neighbors, Hope, Ind.	
Osborn, Nellie	*Worthington, Ind.*
Plessner, Emma	*Saginaw, Mich.*
Porter, Mattie, deceased	*Hope, Ind.*
Porter, Phena	*St. Louis, Ind.*
Ramsey, Lizzie	*Charleston, Ind.*
Mrs. L. Selby, Indianapolis, Ind.	
Rheem, Flora	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. F. Church, deceased, Oklahoma, Okla.	
Rees, Mary	*Lawrenceburg, Ind.*
Reusswig, Augusta	*Lewiston, Minn.*
Rietz, Julia	*Chicago, Ill.*
Rominger, Sophia	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. D. W. Dodd, Hope, Ind.	

NAMES.	RESIDENCES.
Ruede, Mary	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. M. Porterfield, Hartsville, Ind.	
Schade, Anna	*St. Louis, Mo.*
Mrs. Rev. W. Hein, Pittsburgh, Pa.	
Schlather, Rose	*Cleveland, O.*
Mrs. Wegner, deceased 1891.	
Schoenemann, Emma	*Michigan City, Ind.*
Schuler, Marie	*Greyville, Ill.*
Deceased, Herrnhut, Germany.	
Senff, Anna	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Hart.	
Senseman, Emma	*Olney, Ill.*
Philadelphia, Pa.	
Schaefer, Matilda	*St. Louis Crossing, Ind.*
Shultz, Mary F.	*Hope, Ind.*
Shultz, Miranda	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. J. C. Fishel, Hope, Ind.	
Shultz, Belle	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Geo. B. Stapp, Columbus, Ind.	
Smiley, Mary deceased,	*Forest Hill, Ind.*
Smiley, Maggie	*Forest Hill, Ind.*
Mrs. Johnson, Greensburg, Ind.	
Spaugh, Ella	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. H. Gay, Chicago, Ill.	
Stempel, Anna	*Cleveland, O.*
Mrs. Blickensderfer, Oxford, O.	
Stemph, Anna	*Indianapolis, Ind.*
Mrs. Trimper, Indianapolis, Ind.	
Stumph, Sarah	*Indianapolis, Ind.*
Mrs. Nimal, Indianapolis, Ind.	
Thompson, Susie	*Waymansville, Ind.*
Mrs. Connor, Columbus, Ind.	
Uecke, Emily F.	*Freedom, Wis.*
Mrs. Francis R. Dittmer, Seymour, Wis.	
Vickery, Mary	*Tipton, Ind.*
Ward, Clara	*West Salem, Ill.*
Trained Nurse. Graduate of Bellevue Training School, New York City.	
Wessner, Hattie	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. H. Long, deceased, Indianapolis, Ind.	
Wilkins, Emma	*Worthington, Ind.*
Winterberg, Katie	*Edinburgh, Ind.*

NAMES.	RESIDENCES.
Winchester, Clara	*Hope, Ind.*
Zigler, Lillie	*Hope, Ind.*

Mrs. L. Cunningham, deceased, Indianapolis, Ind.

Indiana	50
Ohio	6
Illinois	13
Missouri	2
Wisconsin	2
Kentucky	2
Michigan	1
Arkansas	2
Minnesota	1
Iowa	1
Total	80

NINTH SCHOLASTIC YEAR.

1875.

BOARD OF TRUSTEES.

Rev. Robert de Schweinitz,
Rev. Lewis F. Kampmann,
Rev. F. R. Holland.

OFFICERS AND TEACHERS.

Principal and Superintendent.
Rev. F. R. Holland.

Directress of the Household.
Mrs. Augusta E. Holland.

Professor of Music.
Mr. F. A. Albrecht.

Resident Tutoresses.

Miss Lucy McMurray,
Miss Emma Barth,
Miss Addiie E. Peter,
Miss Minna Irion,
Miss Kittie Leak, deceased,
Miss Anna Luethi.

Teachers of German.

Miss Minna Irion,
Miss Emma Barth.

Teacher of Instrumental Music.
Miss Minna Irion.

Teacher of Vocal Music.
Miss Anna R. Holland.

Teacher of Drawing, Painting and Ornamental Work.
Mrs. Augusta E. Holland.

Matron.
Miss M. S. D. Hueser.

PUPILS.

Senior Classes.

Names.		Residences.
	1868.	
Gower, Hebe F.		*Hot Springs, Ark.*
	Mrs. Rector.	
Holland, Mary E.		*York, Pa.*
	Mrs. Rice.	
	1869.	
McMurray, Lucy E.		*Tuscarawas, O.*
Hammond, Emma		*Tipton, Ia.*
Peter, Addie E.		*Gnadenhuetten, O.*
	1870.	
Dresel, Elise		*Louisville, Ky.*
Blickensderfer, Mary		*Tuscarawas, O.*
Rominger, Adelaide C.		*New Albany, Ind.*
Kilgore, Ella		*Port Washington, O.*
Smith, Lizzie D.		*Flamboro, Ont.*
Miller, Sarah		*Hope, Ind.*
	1872.	
Brumley, Anna		*Louisville, Ky.*
Barth, Emma		*Cincinnati, O.*
Thompson, Martha		*Waynesville, Ind.*
Thompson, Mary		*Waynesville, Ind.*
	1873.	
Craig, Anna B.		*Madison, Ind.*
Williams, Ella		*Edinburgh, Ind.*
Ketterer, Amelia		*Miltonsburg, O.*
Uecke, Emma C.		*Freedom, Wis.*
Vogler, Louisa		*Bothwell, Ont.*
	1874.	
Hartmann, Talitha		*Chicago, Ill.*
Hill, Florence, deceased		*Columbus, Ind.*
Jones, Florence		*Hope, Ind.*
Kilgore, Maggie R.		*Port Washington, O.*
Luethi, Anna		*Gnadenhütten, O.*
Senseman, Emma		*Olney, Ill.*
Smiley, Mary		*Forest Hill, Ind.*

NAMES.	RESIDENCES.
Uecke, Emily	*Freedom, Wis.*
Wilkins, Emma	*Worthington, Ind.*
Winchester, Kate	*Hope, Ind.*

1875.

Bauer, Mary	*Jefferson City, Mo.*
Black, Mattie	*Indianapolis, Ind.*
Rhodes, Nina	*Canal Dover, O.*
Rieger, Lydia	*Jefferson City, Mo.*
Thompson, Susie	*Waynesville, Ind.*

PUPILS.

NAMES.	RESIDENCES.
Albright, Ella	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Eug. G. Regennas, deceased, Hope, Ind.	
Alley, Eliza	*Milford, Ind.*
Mrs. Wasson, Burney, Ind.	
Artsman, Josephine	*Newport, Ky.*
Mrs. J. Coffin, Newport, Ky.	
Artsman, Augusta	*Newport, Ky.*
Mrs. J. Dennison, Newport, Ky.	
Bachman, Sarah	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. M. O. Wooley, Hope, Ind.	
Baer, Susan	*Cleveland, O.*
Mrs. S. Weber, deceased.	
Bauer, Mary	*Jefferson City, Mo.*
Beard, Corrina	*Forest Hill, Ind.*
Mrs. Charles Williams, Greensburg, Ind.	
Beese, Lisette	*Chicago, Ill.*
Bigler, Cecelia	*Victor, Iowa.*
Mrs. Wm. H. Romig, Grinnell, Iowa.	
Billiard, Addie	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Lewis Rights, Indianapolis, Ind.	
Billiard, Dema	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Mumford Hartzel, Hope, Ind.	
Bittrich, Anna	*Hope, Ind.*
Black, Martha	*Indianapolis, Ind.*
Mrs. Gipe, Indianapolis, Ind.	
Buerger, Anna	*Little Rock, Ark.*
Burcham, Alice	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. G. E. Jones, Indianapolis, Ind.	

NAMES.	RESIDENCES.
Coleman, Emma	*Norristown, Ind.*
Mrs. Williams, Flatrock, Ind.	
Critchfield, Effie, deceased	*Jonesville, Ind.*
Dresel, Emilie	*Louisville, Ky.*
Evansville, Ind.	
Eckerly, Laura	*Memphis, Tenn.*
Ehman, Louisa	*Little Rock, Ark.*
Elliott, Mary	*Milford, Ind.*
Eppens, Lena	*Femme Osage, Mo.*
Mrs. L. Munzert, Evanston, Ill.	
Fix, Josephine	*Hartsville, Ind.*
Gambold, Delia	*Veedersburg, Ind.*
Gambold, Lillie	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. F. Beckel, deceased, Colorado.	
George, Emma	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Matson, Indianapolis, Ind.	
George, Ida	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. C. Cooper, Columbus, Ind.	
Henderson, Minna	*Milford, Ind.*
Holland, Jennie E.	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. U. S. Winterrowd, deceased, Atchison, Kan.	
Irivin, Belle	*Indianapolis, Ind.*
Mrs. J. Q. Adams, deceased 1881, New York City.	
Irion, Helen, deceased	*Femme Osage, Mo.*
Israel, Minna	*West Salem, Ill.*
Mrs. W. G. Frank, Riverton, N. J.	
Israel, Anna	*West Salem, Ill.*
Mrs. George Schmierer, Cinnaminson, N. J.	
Jacob, Anna	*Cincinnati, O.*
Jelf, Belle	*Hope, Ind.*
Keating, Georgia	*Greencastle, Ind.*
Kiehlhorn, Anna, deceased	*Cannelton, Ind.*
Kobolt, Minna	*Chicago, Ill.*
Kobolt, Addie	*Chicago, Ill.*
Kramer, Louisa	*Little Rock, Ark.*
Mrs. G. J. Darragh, deceased, Little Rock, Ark.	
Kramer, Martha	*Little Rock, Ark.*
Laisy, Amelia	*Cleveland, O.*
Laisy, Mary	*Cleveland, O.*
Laisy, Ida	*Cleveland, O.*
Michael, Emma, deceased	*Hope, Ind.*
Michael, Gertrude	*Hope, Ind.*
Nave, Henrietta	*Tahlequah, Ind.*
Mrs. Hinton, Park Hill, Okla. Granddaughter of Chief John Ross, of Indian Territory.	

NAMES.	RESIDENCES.
Plessner, Emma	*Saginaw, Mich.*
Porter, Martha, deceased	*Hope, Ind.*
Rees, Mary	*Lawrenceburg, Ind.*
Reusswig, Augusta	*Lewiston, Minn.*
Rhodes, Nina	*Canal Dover, O.*
Mrs. W. Kreiter, Toledo, O.	
Rieger, Lydia	*Jefferson City, Mo.*
Riehl, Lizzie	*Chicago, Ill.*
Rominger, Sophia	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. D. W. Dodd, Hope, Ind.	
Roope, Lelia	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. L. Coleman, Racine, Wis.	
Ruede, Mary	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. W. Porterfield, Hartsville, Ind.	
Scheible, Mary	*Lowell Mills, Ind.*
Schelle, Marie	*Buffalo, N. Y.*
Mrs. Emil Gramm, deceased, New York City.	
Schloesser, Ida	*Chicago, Ill.*
Mrs. Thomsen.	
Schultz, Belle	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Geo. B. Stapp, Columbus, Ind.	
Smiley, Margaret	*Forest Hill, Ind.*
Mrs. Johnson, Greensburg, Ind.	
Spaugh, Ella	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. H. Gay, Chicago, Ill.	
Stanger, Mary	*Nashville, Ill.*
Stempel, Anna	*Cleveland, O.*
Mrs. J. Blickensderfer, Oxford, O.	
Stempel, Jennie	*Cleveland, O.*
Thompson, Susan	*Waynesville, Ind.*
Mrs. S. Conner, Columbus, Ind.	
Wesner, Harriet	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. H. Long, Indianapolis, Ind.	
White, Clara	*Rushville, Ind.*
Wiemeyer, Katherine	*New Bremen, O.*
Winchester, Claribel	*Hope, Ind.*

NAMES.	RESIDENCES.
Ziegner, Augusta	*St. Louis Crossing, Ind.*
Zigler, Lillie	*Hope, Ind.*

Mrs. Cunningham, Indianapolis, Ind.

Indiana	41
Ohio	9
Illinois	8
Missouri	4
Kentucky	3
Iowa	1
Michigan	1
Arkansas	4
Tennessee	1
New York	1
Indian Territory	1
Minnesota	1
Total	75

TENTH SCHOLASTIC YEAR.

1875–1876.

BOARD OF TRUSTEES.

Rev. Robert de Schweinitz,
Rev. Lewis F. Kampmann,
Rev. F. R. Holland.

OFFICERS AND TEACHERS.

Principal and Superintendent.
Rev. F. R. Holland.

Directress of the Household.
Mrs. Augusta E. Holland.

Professor of Music.
Mr. F. A. Albrecht.

Resident Tutoresses.

Miss Addie E. Peter,
Miss Sarah Baker,
Miss Sarah Walter, deceased,
Miss Anna Luethi,
Miss Emma Wilkins,
Miss Harriet Fishel.

Teachers of German.

Miss Emma Wilkins,
Mrs. A. E. Holland.

Teachers of Instrumental Music.

Miss Sarah Baker,
Miss Emma Wilkins.

Teacher of Vocal Music.
Miss Anna R. Holland.

Teacher of Drawing, Painting and Ornamental Work.
Mrs. Augusta E. Holland.

Housekeeper.
Mrs. Elizabeth Billiard.

PUPI[illegible].

Senior Cla[illegible]es.

1868.

Second Yea[illegible]

Names.	Residences.
Gower, Hebe F.	*Hot Springs, Ark.*
Holland, Mary E.	*York, Pa.*

Mrs. Rice.

1869.

Third Year.

McMur[illegible] Lucy E.	*Tuscarawas, O.*
Hammond, Emma[illegible]	*Tipton, Iowa.*
Peter, Addie E.	*Gnadenhütten, O.*

1870.

Fourth Year.

Dresel, Elise	*Louisville, Ky.*
Blickensderfer, Mary	*Tuscarawas, O.*
Rominger, Adelaide C.	*New Albany, Ind.*
Kilgore, Ella	*Port Washington, O.*
Smith, Lizzie D.	*West Flambow, Ont.*
Miller, Sarah	*Hope, Ind.*

1871.

No Class.

1872.

Sixth Year.

Brumley, Anna	*Louisville, Ky.*
Barth, Emma	*Cincinnati, O.*
Thompson, Martha	*Waynesville, Ind.*
Thompson, Mary	*Waynesville, Ind.*

1873.

Seventh Year.

Craig, Anna B.	*Madison, Ind.*
Ketterer, Amelia	*Miltonsburg, O.*
Uecke, Emma C.	*Freedom, Wis.*
Vogler, Louisa M.	*Bothwell, Ont.*
Williams, Ella	*Edinburgh, Ind.*

1874.

Names.	Eighth Year.	Residences.
Hartmann, Talitha		*Chicago, Ill.*
Hill, Florence		*Columbus, Ind.*
Jones, Florence		*Hope, Ind.*
Kilgore, Maggie R.		*Port Washington, O.*
Luethi, Anna		*Gnadenhütten, O.*
Senseman, Emma		*Olney, Ill.*
Smiley, Mary		*Forest Hill, Ind.*
Uecke, Emily		*Freedom, Wis.*
Wilkins, Emma		*Worthington, Ind.*
Winchester, Kate		*Hope, Ind.*

1875.

Ninth Year.

Bauer, Mary	*Jefferson City, Mo.*
Black, Mattie	*Indianapolis, Ind.*
Rhodes, Nina	*Canal Dover, O.*
Rieger, Lydia	*Jefferson City, Mo.*
Thompson, Susie	*Waynesville, Ind.*

1876.

Tenth Year.

Artsman, Josephine	*Newport, Ky.*
Bigler, Cecelia	*Victor, Iowa.*
Plessner, Emma	*Saginaw City, Mich.*
Riehl, Lizzie	*Chicago, Ill.*
Stempel, Jennie	*Hamilton, O.*

PUPILS.

Names.	1875-1876.	Residences.
Albright, Ella		*Hope, Ind.*
	Mrs. Eug. G. Regennas, deceased, Hope, Ind.	
Alter, Mary		*Clay, Iowa.*
	Mrs. M. Meacham, Grinnell, Iowa.	
Artsman, Augusta		*Newport, Ky.*
	Mrs. J. Dennison, Newport, Ky.	
Artsman, Josephine		*Newport, Ky.*
	Mrs. J. Coffin, Newport, Ky.	
Bachman, Sarah		*Hope, Ind.*
	Mrs. M. O. Wooley, Hope, Ind.	
Bandi, Louisa		*New Martinsville, W.Va.*
Batchelor, Stella		*Cincinnati, O.*

NAMES.	RESIDENCES.
Bigler, Cecelia	*Victor, Iowa.*
Mrs. Wm. H. Romig, Grinnell, Iowa.	
Billiard, Addie	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Lewis Rights, Indianapolis, Ind.	
Billiard, Dema	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Mumford Hartzel, Hope, Ind.	
Bittrich, Anna	*Hope, Ind.*
Buerger, Anna	*Little Rock, Ark.*
Burcham, Alice	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. G. E. Jones, Indianapolis, Ind.	
Clark, Ella	*Cincinnati, O.*
Coleman, Emma	*Winterrowd, Ind.*
Mrs. E. Williams, Flatrock Cave, Ind.	
Critchfield, Effie	*Jonesvile, Ind.*
Detterer, Amelia	*Watertown, Wis.*
Mrs. Joseph Bauer, Riverside, N. J.	
Elliott, May	*Clifty, Ind.*
Eckerly, Laura	*Memphis, Tenn.*
Fix, Josephine	*Hartsville, Ind.*
Ford, Mary	*Madison, Ind.*
Gambold, Delia	*Veedersburg, Ind.*
Gambold, Lillie	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. F. Beckel, deceased, Col.	
Hawthorne, Sallie	*Newport, Ky.*
Holland, Jane E.	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. N. S. Winterrowd, deceased, Atchison, Kan.	
Israel, Anna	*West Salem, Ill.*
Mrs. G. Schmierer, Cinnaminson, N. J.	
Keating, Georgia	*Greencastle, Ind.*
Keehln, Addie	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. E. Williams, deceased, West.	
Kielhorn, Anna, deceased	*Cannelton, Ind.*
Kobolt, Minna	*Chicago, Ill.*
Kramer, Mattie, deceased	*Little Rock, Ark.*
Laisy, Amelia	*Cleveland, O.*
Laisy, Ida	*Cleveland, O.*
Laisy, Mary	*Cleveland, O.*
May, Callie	*Petersville, Ind.*
Mrs. Clint. Handley, Columbus, Ind.	
Magee, Amanda	*Rushville, Ind.*
Meyer, Lizzie	*Pittsburgh, Pa.*
Michael, Emma, deceased	*Hope, Ind.*
Michael, Gertrude	*Hope, Ind.*
Mueller, Olga	*Chicago, Ill.*
Mrs. Paul Kreismann.	

NAMES.	RESIDENCES.
Nave, Henrietta	*Tahlequah, Ind. Ter.*
Mrs. Hinton, Oklahoma.	
Plessner, Emma	*Saginaw City, Mich.*
Rees, Mary	*Lawrenceburg, Ind.*
Reller, Emma	*Cumberland, Ind.*
Reiling, Lena	*Louisville, Ky.*
Mrs. Brinke, Louisville, Ky.	
Reusswig, Augusta	*Lewiston, Minn.*
Reutti, Lillie	*Hamilton, O.*
Mrs. Martin Mason, deceased.	
Riehl, Lizzie, deceased	*Chicago, Ill.*
Rominger, Sophia C.	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. D. W. Dodd, deceased, Hope, Ind.	
Roope, Anna	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. J. Pell, Indianapolis, Ind.	
Ruede, Mary	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Porterfield, Hartsville, Ind.	
Senff, Amelia	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Thornton.	
Senff, Anna	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Dr. Hart.	
Shultz, Belle	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Geo. B. Stapp, Columbus, Ind.	
Shultz, Miranda	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. J. C. Fishel, Hope, Ind.	
Sigler, Adele	*Osceola, Iowa.*
Standish, Mary	*Cincinnati, O.*
Mrs. Thomas Allen, Newport, Ky.	
Stempel, Anna	*Hamilton, O.*
Mrs. J. Blickensderfer, Oxford, O.	
Stempel, Jennie	*Hamilton, O.*
Warner, Nora	*Flat Rock, Ind.*
Mrs. Nading, Flat Rock, Ind.	
Wesner, Harriet	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Long, Indianapolis, Ind.	
White, Clara	*Rushville, Ind.*
Wikoff, Olive	*Rushville, Ind.*
Williams, Charity	*Edinburgh, Ind.*
Mrs. Martin Cutsinger, Edinburgh, Ind.	
Wilson, Edith	*Muncie, Ind.*
Wilson, Clara	*Elizabethtown, Ind.*

NAMES.	RESIDENCES.
Wilson, Rebecca	*Elizabethtown, Ind.*
Zigler, Lillie	*Hope, Ind.*

Mrs. Cunningham, Indianapolis, Ind.

Indiana	40
Ohio	10
Kentucky	4
Illinois	4
Iowa	3
Arkansas	2
Tennessee	1
Michigan	1
West Virginia	1
Minnesota	1
Pennsylvania	1
Indian Territory	1
	70

ELEVENTH AND TWELFTH SCHOLASTIC YEARS
1877–1878

BOARD OF TRUSTEES.

Rev. Robert de Schweinitz,
Rev. Lewis F. Kampmann,
Rev. F. R. Holland.

OFFICERS AND TEACHERS.

Principal and Superintendent.
Rev. F. R. Holland.

Directress of the Household.
Mrs. Augusta E. Holland.

Professor of Music.
Mr. F. A. Albrecht.

Resident Tutoresses.

Miss Sarah Baker,
Miss Mary Heberhart,
Miss Nina Rhodes,
Miss Harriet Fishel,
Miss Augusta Uecke,
Miss Mary A. Fogle,
Miss E. L. Senseman.

Teachers of German.

Miss A. Uecke,
Prof. Albrecht.

Teachers of Instrumental Music.

Miss Nina Rhodes,
Miss M. Heberhart.

Teacher of Vocal Music and Ornamental Work.
Miss Anna R. Holland.

Teacher of Drawing and Painting.
Mrs. Augusta E. Holland.

Housekeeper.
Mrs. Elizabeth Billiard.

PUPILS.

Senior Classes.

Names.	1868.	Residences.
Gower, Hebe F.		*Hot Springs, Ark.*

Mrs. Rector.

Holland, Mary E.		*York, Pa.*

Mrs. Rice.

1869.

McMurray, Lucy E.		*Tuscarawas, O.*
Hammond, Emma		*Tipton, Iowa.*
Peter, Addie E.		*Gnadenhütten, O.*

1870.

Dresel, Elise		*Louisville, Ky.*
Blickensderfer, Mary		*Tuscarawas, O.*
Rominger, Adelaide C.		*New Albany, Ind.*
Kilgore, Ella		*Port Washington, O.*
Smith, Lizzie D.		*West Flambow, Ont.*
Miller, Sarah		*Hope, Ind.*

1872.

Brumley, Anna		*Louisville, Ky.*
Barth, Emma		*Cincinnati, O.*
Thompson, Martha		*Waynesville, Ind.*
Thompson, Mary		*Waynesville, Ind.*

1873.

Craig, Anna B.		*Madison, Ind.*
Williams, Ella		*Edinburgh, Ind.*
Ketterer, Amelia		*Miltonsburg, O.*
Uecke, Emma C.		*Freedom, Wis.*
Vogler, Louisa M.		*Bothwell, Ont.*

1874.

Hartmann, Talitha		*Chicago, Ill.*
Hill, Florence		*Columbus, Ind.*
Jones, Florence		*Hope, Ind.*
Kilgore, Maggie R.		*Port Washington, O.*
Luethi, Anna		*Gnadenhütten, O.*
Senseman, Emma		*Olney, Ill.*
Smiley, Mary		*Forest Hill, Ind.*

NAMES.	RESIDENCES.
Uecke, Emily	*Freedom, Wis.*
Wilkins, Emma	*Worthington, Ind.*
Winchester, Kate	*Hope, Ind.*

1875.

Bauer, Mary	*Jefferson City, Mo.*
Black, Mattie	*Indianapolis, Ind.*
Rhodes, Nina	*Canal Dover, O.*
Rieger, Lydia	*Jefferson City, Mo.*
Thompson, Susie	*Waynesville, Ind.*

1876.

Artsman, Josephine	*Newport, Ky.*
Bigler, Cecelia	*Victor, Iowa.*
Clark, Ella C.	*Cincinnati, O.*
Plessner, Emma	*Saginaw City, Mich.*
Riehl, Lizzie	*Chicago, Ill.*
Stempel, Jennie	*Hamilton, O.*

1877.

Shultz, Miranda	*Hope, Ind.*
Sigler, Adele	*Osceola, Iowa.*
Wikoff, Olive	*Rushville, Ind.*
Wilson, Clara	*Elizabethtown, Ind.*
Wilson, Rebecca	*Elizabethtown, Ind.*

PUPILS.

NAMES.	1876-1878.	RESIDENCES.
Albright, Ella		*Hope, Ind.*
	Mrs. Eug. G. Regennas, deceased.	
Artsman, Augusta		*Newport, Ky.*
	Mrs. J. Dennison, Newport, Ky.	
Artsman, Sarah, deceased		*Newport, Ky.*
Augspurger, Mary Louise		*Trenton, O.*
	Mrs. John Kennel, Trenton, O.	
Billiard, Addie		*Hope, Ind.*
	Mrs. J. Rights.	
Billiard, Dema		*Hope, Ind.*
	Mrs. M. Hartzel.	
Blakeslee, Eda		*Du Quoin, Ill.*

NAMES.	RESIDENCES.
Boal, Nannie Louise	*Newport, Ky.*
Boesel, Emma	*New Bremen, O.*
Chambers, Jennie	*Edinburgh, Ind.*
Mrs. Joe Carvin, Edinburgh, Ind.	
Daily, Emma	*Adams, Ind.*
Daily, Ida	*Indianapolis, Ind.*
Mrs. Ida Riley.	
Deming, Clara B.	*Edinburgh, Ind.*
Mrs. J. A. Thompson, Indianapolis, Ind.	
Detterer, Amelia	*Watertown, Wis.*
Mrs. Joseph Bauer, Riverside, N. J.	
Eisenmeyer, Matilda	*Mascoutah, Ill.*
Elliott, Nora	*Shelbyville, Ind.*
Fichtner, Alice	*Louisville, Ky.*
Gerty, Katherine	*Madison, Ind.*
Grove, Ada	*Columbus, Ind.*
Gustin, Capitola V. E.	*Osceola, Iowa.*
Mrs. C. Wilson, Ogden, Utah.	
Hawthorn, Sarah	*Newport, Ky.*
Hatton, Alice	*Sulphur Hill, Ind.*
Hirshler, Susan L.	*Summerfield, Ill.*
Holland, Jane E.	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. N. S. Winterrowd, deceased, Atchison, Kan.	
Keating, Georgia	*Greencastle, Ind.*
King, Ora	*Adams, Ind.*
Laisy, Amelia	*Cleveland, O.*
Mrs. J. A. Jury, Mayfield, Cal.	
Laisy, Emma	*Cleveland, O.*
Mrs. E. Guhl, Los Angeles, Cal.	
Laisy, Ida	*Cleveland, O.*
Laisy, Mary	*Cleveland O.*
Lehman, Lydia	*Ephraim, Wis.*
Mrs. E. Kolb, Unionville, Mich.	
May, Caroline	*Petersville, Ind.*
Mrs. Clint. Hanley, Petersville, Ind.	
Magee, Amanda	*Rushville, Ind.*
Michael, Emma, deceased	*Hope, Ind.*
Michael, Gertrude	*Hope, Ind.*
Michael, Susan M.	*West Salem, Ill.*
Mueller, Olga	*Chicago, Ill.*
Mrs. Paul Kreismann.	
Pendleton, Jeannette	*Covington, Ky.*
Pierce, Jane	*West Salem, Ill.*
Mrs. Van Gunten, West Salem, Ill.	
Pletcher, Louisa	*Cleveland, O.*
Mrs. Charles Meches, Cleveland, O.	

Rhodes, Rosa.....*Beach City, O.*
Mrs. R. Garver, Elyria, O.
Riley, Julia C.....*Rushville, Ind.*
Mrs. John Winship, Rushville, Ind.
Riley, Frances H.....*Rushville, Ind.*
Rominger, Sophia C.....*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. D. W. Dodd, deceased, Hope, Ind.
Rosencrans, Jane.....*Winterrowd, Ind.*
Rothschild, Amelia.....*Clifty, Ind.*
Mrs. J. H. Wolf, Greely, Col.
Ruede, Mary.....*Hartsville, Ind.*
Mrs. Porterfield, Hartsville, Ind.
Rossi, Ellen.....*Cincinnati, O.*
Schmidt, Amelia.....*New Bremen, O.*
Shultz, Belle.....*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Geo. B. Stapp, Columbus, Ind.
Shultz, Miranda.....*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. J. C. Fishel, Hope, Ind.
Sigler, Adele, deceased.....*Osceola, Iowa.*
Singer, Alma.....*Peoria, Ill.*
Smith, Katherine.....*Covington, Ky.*
Sonderman, Anna.....*Seymour, Wis.*
Mrs. H. Richter, Green Bay, Wis.
Sonderman, Bertha.....*Green Bay, Wis.*
Mrs. Bierlein, Milwaukee, Wis.
Sonderman, Ida.....*Seymour, Wis.*
Mrs. G. C. Bierlein, deceased, Seymour, Wis.
Spaugh, Elizabeth.....*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Geo. Simmons, Eureka, Kan.
Stanger, Frederika L.....*Oakville, Ill.*
Stanley, Anna.....*Madison, Ind.*
Weber, Henrietta.....*Madison, Ind.*
Wesner, Harriet.....*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Long, Indianapolis, Ind.
Wikoff, Olive.....*Rushville, Ind.*
Wilson, Clara.....*Elizabethtown, Ind.*
Wilson, Rebecca.....*Elizabethtown, Ind.*
Williams, Ida B.....*Edinburgh, Ind.*

Winship, Aggie.....*Rushville, Ind.*
Mrs. Kelly, Rushville, Ind.
Zigler, Lillie.....*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Cunningham, deceased, Indianapolis, Ind.

Indiana	36
Ohio	10
Kentucky	7
Wisconsin	5
Illinois	8
Iowa	2
Total	68

THIRTEENTH SCHOLASTIC YEAR.

1879.

BOARD OF TRUSTEES.

The Rt. Rev. Edmund de Schweinitz,
The Rev. Henry J. Van Vleck,
The Rev. Eugene Leibert,
The Rev. Henry T. Bachman,
The Rev. Herman S. Hoffman.

OFFICERS AND TEACHERS.

1878-1879.

Principal and Superintendent.
Rev. F. R. Holland, deceased.

Directress of the Household.
Mrs. Augusta E. Holland, deceased.

Professor of Music.
Mr. F. A. Albrecht.

Resident Tutoresses.

Miss Augusta Uecke,
Miss Emily Uecke,
Miss Emma Senseman,
Miss Lizzie Ricksecker.

Housekeeper.
Mrs. Elizabeth Billiard.

PUPILS.

1878-1879.

NAMES.	RESIDENCES.
Albright, Ella	*Hope, Ind.*
Anderson, Lizzie	*Ephraim, Wis.*
Billiard, Addie	*Hope, Ind.*
Billiard, Dema	*Hope, Ind.*
Chambers, Jane	*Edinburgh, Ind.*
Deming, Clara	*Edinburgh, Ind.*
Gustin, Capitola	*Osceola, Iowa.*
Haas, Mary	*Hope, Ind.*
Hedrick, Irene	*West Salem, Ill.*
Hershler, Susan	*Summerfield, Ill.*
Keating, Georgia	*Greencastle, Ind.*
Lehman, Lydia	*Ephraim, Wis.*
Michael, Emma	*Hope, Ind.*
Michael, Gertrude	*Hope, Ind.*
Pierce, Jane	*West Salem, Ill.*
Riley, Frances H.	*Rushville, Ind.*
Riley, Julia C.	*Rushville, Ind.*
Rominger, Sophia	*Hope, Ind.*
Sonderman, Bertha	*Seymour, Wis.*
Sonderman, Ida	*Seymour, Wis.*
Thompson, Nora	*Waynesville, Ind.*

Indiana	13
Wisconsin	4
Illinois	3
Iowa	1
Total	21

FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH SCHOLASTIC YEARS.

1881

TRUSTEES.

The Rt. Rev. Edmund de Schweinitz,
The Rev. H. T. Bachman,
The Rev. H. S. Hoffman,
The Rev. Eugene Leibert,
The Rev. Henry J. Van Vleck,

OFFICERS AND TEACHERS.

1879-1881.

Principal and Superintendent.
Rev. Jesse Blickensderfer.

Directress of the Household.
Mrs. J. Blickensderfer.

Teacher of Music.
Miss Anna Stempel.

Resident Tutoresses.
Miss Elizabeth Rondthaler, Miss Anna Stempel.

Housekeeper.
Mrs. Elizabeth Billiard.

PUPILS.

Senior Classes.

1868.

Gower, Hebe F.....*Conway, Ark.*
Mrs. Rector.
Holland, Mary E.....*Buffalo, N.Y.*
Mrs. Rice.

1869.

McMurray, Lucy E.....*New Philadelphia, O.*
Mrs. Gentsch.
Hammond, Emma.....*Des Moines, Iowa.*
Mrs. Neiman, deceased.
Peter, Addie E.....*Bethlehem, Pa.*
Mrs. Schultze.

1870.

Dresel, Elise.....*Evansville, Ind.*

Blickensderfer, Mary.....*Alliance, O.*
Mrs. Russell.
Rominger, Adelaide C.....*Hope, Ind.*
Kilgore, Ella.....*Port Washington, O.*
Mrs. Emerson, deceased.
Smith, Elizabeth D.....*Maitland, Fla.*
Mrs. Benson.
Miller, Sarah.....*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Kemp.

1872.

Brumley, Anna.....*Louisville, Ky.*
Mrs. Williams.
Barth, Emma.....*Ashland, Kan.*
Mrs. Gabbert, deceased.
Thompson, Martha.....*Waynesville, Ind.*
Mrs. Spurgeon.
Thompson, Mary.....*Waynesville, Ind.*
Mrs. Newsome, deceased.

1873.

Craig, Anna B.....*Crafton, Pa.*
Mrs. Safford.
Williams, Ella.....*Edinburgh, Ind.*

NAMES.	RESIDENCES.
Ketterer, Amelia	*Miltonsburg, O.*
Uecke, Emma	*Grand Rapids, Wis.*
Mrs. Madsen.	
Vogler, Louise M.	*Bothwell, Ont.*

1874.

Hartmann, Talithia	*Los Angeles, Cal.*
Mrs. Kohlsaat, deceased.	
Hill, Florence, deceased	*Columbus, Ind.*
Jones, Florence	*Summit Hill, Ind.*
Mrs. Phillipy.	
Kilgore, Maggie R.	*Port Washington, O.*
Mrs. O'Donntll, deceased.	
Luethi, Anna	*New Philadelphia, Pa.*
Mrs. Richards, deceased.	
Senseman, Emma	*Philadelphia, Pa.*
Smiley, Mary, deceased	*Forest Hill, Ind.*
Uecke, Emily	*Seymour, Wis.*
Mrs. Dittmer.	
Wilkins, Emma, deceased	*Worthington, Ind.*
Winchester, Kate	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Smith.	

1875.

Bauer, Mary	*Jefferson City, Mo.*
Black, Martha	*Indianapolis, Ind.*
Mrs. Gipe.	
Rhodes, Nina	*Toledo, O.*
Mrs. Kreiter.	
Rieger, Lydia	*Jefferson City, Mo.*
Thompson, Susan	*Columbus, Ind.*
Mrs. Conner.	

1876.

Artsman, Josephine	*Newport, Ky.*
Mrs. Coffin.	
Bigler, Cec elia	*Grinnell, Iowa.*
Mrs. Romig.	
Clark, Ella C.	*Cincinnati, O.*
Plessner, Emma	*Saginaw City, Mich.*
Riehl, Lizzie, deceased	*Chicago, Ill.*
Stempel, Jennie	*Cleveland, O.*

NAMES. 1877. RESIDENCES.

Shultz, Miranda.....*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Fishel.
Sigler, Adele, deceased.....*Osceola, Iowa.*
Wikoff, Olive.....*Rushville, Ind.*
Wilson, Clara.....*Elizabethtown, Ind.*
Wilson, Rebecca.....*Elizabethtown, Ind.*

1880.

Thompson, Nora.....*Elizabethtown, Ind.*
Mrs. Daugherty.
Billiard, Addie.....*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Rights.

1881.

Lehman, Lydia.....*Unionville, Mich.*
Mrs. Kolb.
Billiard, Dema.....*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Hartzel.

PUPILS.

Anderson, Julia.....*Ephraim, Wis.*
Mrs. Alex. Johnson, Sturgeon Bay, Wis.
Anderson, Lizzie.....*Ephraim, Wis.*
Billiard, Addie.....*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. L. Rights, Indianapolis, Ind.
Billiard, Dema.....*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. M. Hartzel, Hope, Ind.
Blickensderfer, Esther.....*Hope, Ind.*
Oxford, O.
Blickensderfer, Grace.....*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. F. R. Nitzschke, New Brighton, S. I., N. Y.
Gebhardt, Louise.....*Northfield, Minn.*
Mrs. F. H. Oehler, Devil's Lake, North Dakota.
Grissom, May.....*Hope, Ind.*
Haas, Mary, deceased.....*Hope, Ind.*
Hallenberg, Emma, deceased.....*Louisville, Ky.*
Hegewald, Emma.....*New Albany, Ind.*
Mrs. A. E. Riley, New Albany, Ind.
Lehman, Lydia.....*Ephraim, Wis.*
Mrs. Eustace Kolb, Unionville, Mich.
Maley, Alice.....*Hope, Ind.*
Michael, Carrie.....*Hope, Ind.*
Michael, Emma, deceased.....*Hope, Ind.*
Michael, Gertrude.....*Hope, Ind.*

NAMES.	RESIDENCES.
Pattison, Lizzie	*Falmouth, Rush Co., Ind.*
Pierce, Jane	*West Salem, Ill.*
Mrs. Van Gunten, West Salem, Ill.	
Rominger, Sophia C.	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. D. W. Dodd, deceased, Hope, Ind.	
Sim, Carrie	*Louisville, Ky.*
Mrs. Dusch, Louisville, Ky.	
Sonderman, Bertha	*Seymour, Wis.*
Mrs. Bierlein, Milwaukee, Wis.	
Sonderman, Ida	*Seymour, Wis.*
Mrs. G. C. Bierlein, deceased, Seymour, Wis.	
Schmuck, Blanch	*Indianapolis, Ind.*
Mrs. Will Vance, Indianapolis, Ind.	
Spaugh, Maggie	*Hope, Ind.*
Specht, Mary	*Hope, Ind.*
Mrs. Sam'l Michael, Lawrence, Ind.	
Stengel, Elenora	*Utica, Mont.*
Mrs. Theo. Albert, R. R. Hector, Minn.	
Stengel, Minnie	*Utica, Mont.*
Mrs. David Brown, Utica, Mont.	
Trimble, Carrie	*Greensburg, Ind.*
Mrs. C. McCoy, Greensburg, Ind.	
Thompson, Nora	*Waynesville, Ind.*
Mrs. Wm. Daugherty, Elizabethtown, Ind.	
Wedekind, Emma	*Louisville, Ky.*
Weegmann, Louisa	*Indianapolis, Ind.*
Mrs. Fred. M. Loomis, Indianapolis, Ind.	
Wright, Sophia	*Hartsville, Ind.*
Mrs. Alley, Waldron, Ind.	

Indiana	19
Kentucky	2
Wisconsin	5
Illinois	1
Minnesota	1
Total	28

THE FIRST TEN BOARDERS.

NOVEMBER 19, 1866-JULY, 1867.

1. Blickensderfer, Cornelia.....*Tuscarawas, O.*
2. McMurray, Lucy.....*Tuscarawas, O.*
3. Schweitzer, Mollie.....*Shelbyville, Ind.*
4. Schroeder, Mary.....*Shelbyville, Ind.*
5. Hinman, Betty.....*Columbus, Ind.*
6. Jones, Alice.....*Greencastle, Ind.*
7. Toner, Susie.....*Edinburgh, Ind.*
8. Rominger, Addie.....*Franklin, Ind.*
9. Gower, Hebe.....*Iowa City, Iowa.*
10. Uecke, Emma.....*Green Bay, Wis.*

Map showing Journey of the Missionaries
from Bethlehem to the White River and return

A HISTORY

OF THE

Moravian Mission Among the Indians

ON THE

WHITE RIVER IN INDIANA

BY

HARRY EMILIUS STOCKER, PH.D.

BETHLEHEM, PA.
TIMES PUBLISHING CO., PRINTERS
1917

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PREFACE

For more than a century the historic details connected with the Indian Mission on the White River were locked up in well-preserved German manuscripts in the Provincial Archives of the Moravian Church at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, where they were placed when the work had to be abandoned. Little use was made of this wealth of material by historians, with the result that perhaps less is known of this mission than of any other Moravian labors for the conversion of the Indians. Therefore much of what is contained in this first complete history of the White River Mission has never appeared before, and for this reason, many minor details, which otherwise might have been omitted, are mentioned.

At the same time that the history was under preparation, the writer made for the Indiana Historical Society a complete translation of the original diary of the mission and of the many letters which the missionaries wrote to the Helpers' Conference, so the reader of these pages enjoys all the fruits of these necessarily painstaking labors. While the author experienced all the thrills of the pioneer as he made his way through the century-old manuscripts, this privilege did not come to him by right of discovery. It was Professor William N. Schwarze, Ph.D., the Provincial Archivist, who first called attention to this unoccupied field for historic research, and at his suggestion the history was written. All that he did is herewith gratefully acknowledged.

The principal sources of information are: The Mission Diary; Diary of the Missionaries' Journey from Bethlehem to Goshen on the Muskingum, in Ohio; Diary of the Missionaries' Journey from Goshen to the White River; Letters of the Missionaries to the Helpers' Conference; Diary of the Missionaries' Journey from the White River to Bethlehem; Diary of the Goshen Indian Mission; Minutes of the General Helpers' Conference; Reports of the Unity's Elders' Conference; and the Diary of the Bethlehem Moravian Church.

Additional information was found in the following: A written copy of the autobiography of John Peter Kluge; the written

autobiography of Abraham Luckenbach; Drake's Life of Tecumseh; Heckewelder's Indian Nations; Heckewelder's Narrative of Moravian Missions among the Indians; de Schweinitz' Life and Times of David Zeisberger; Loskiel's History of Missions among the Indians of North America; Zeisberger's Diary, 1781-1798, translated by E. P. Bliss; The Lenape and their Legends, by Daniel G. Brinton; Dillon's History of Indiana, and many other works. The writer also gratefully acknowledges the information bearing on the exact location of the Mission Station, Muncie Town and Woapicamikunk, which was given by Arthur W. Brady, Esquire, of Anderson, Indiana.

HARRY E. STOCKER.

South Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.

INTRODUCTORY

Moravian Missions Among the North American Indians

The Moravians began their missionary labors among the Indians of North America in the colony of Georgia, where they had secured two grants of land, one of five hundred acres on the Ogeechee River, and another of fifty acres near the city of Savannah. Under the able leadership of the gifted August Gottlieb Spangenberg, formerly professor in Jena and Halle, a colony of ten arrived in Savannah, February 6, 1735. Another company of twenty persons from Herrnhut, led by David Nitschmann, came soon after. Among the latter were the parents of David Zeisberger. Their son, whose distinguished service of sixty-three years among his Brown Brethren won him the sobriquet, "Apostle to the Indians," came later.

Mission work was begun at once among the Creeks and Cherokees. A school for Indian children was established on the island of Irene, about five miles from Savannah. The Indians were fairly receptive to the gospel and at first the prospects for the success of the mission were encouraging, but after a period of about four years, war between England and Spain, with its attendant Indian hostilities, made it necessary, for the time being, to abandon the work. In the spring of 1740, the Moravian colony was transferred to what is now Nazareth, Pennsylvania. Later attempts to christianize the Cherokees were attended with indifferent success.

In July, 1740, Christian Heinrich Rauch, a twenty-two-year-old Moravian, arrived in the city of New York, where he made the acquaintance of two drunken Mohican Indians, by the name of Wasamapah* or Tschoop and Schabasch, whom he accom-

*A gifted, but profligate Chief of the Mohicans, who became one of the most distinguished Indian converts won by the Moravians. He was known as Job among the traders. Some German, unacquainted with English, mentioned this name in a written report, spelling it as he pronounced it, and Wasamapah became familiarly known as "Tschoop," some people

panied to their village Schekomeko, where his earnest proclamation of the gospel soon bore fruit. Two years later four Indians, with Wasamapah and Schabasch among the number, received Christian baptism. At the close of the year 1742, there were thirty-one Christian Indians.

The missionaries Pyrlaeus, Buettner and Mack were sent to Rauch's assistance, and in a short time the work spread to Connecticut, where flourishing stations sprung into existence in the Indian villages of Pachgatgoch, Wechquadnach and Gnadensee. Wherever the Word of God was preached, it was received with joy. Meanwhile Satan likewise bestirred himself. Unscrupulous whites, whose nefarious liquor traffic suffered from the spread of the gospel among the Indians, charged the missionaries with being Papists in disguise and enemies of Great Britain. The missionaries were ready enough to deny the charge, and willing, too, to affirm their allegiance to England, but they were not prepared to take an oath, for conscientious reasons. Thereupon the New York Assembly made the oath of allegiance obligatory and declared "vagrant preachers, Moravians or disguised Papists" subject to a fine of forty pounds and six months' imprisonment, and expulsion from the colony, if the offense should be repeated. When the Brethren Christian Frederick Post and David Zeisberger went to New York to study the Indian language, they were arrested as spies and imprisoned for seven weeks.

Under these adverse circumstances it was impossible to carry on the work, and the missionaries were withdrawn. Quite a number of the Christian Indians followed their teachers to eastern Pennsylvania, in 1746. They located at a place near Bethlehem and called it Friedenshuetten. Unable to find sufficient support in this neighborhood, the Brethren purchased for them two hundred acres of land at the point where the Mahoni empties its waters into the Lehigh, about thirty miles above Bethlehem. The Christian village received the name of Gnaden-

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mistakenly thinking that this was an Indian word. His baptismal name was John. He was thoroughly converted, and immediately after his baptism in April, 1742, he became a valuable assistant to the missionaries. He was an eloquent speaker, and Bishop Spangenberg declared that he had the countenance of a Luther. August 27, 1746, Tschoop died of smallpox, in Bethlehem, Pa., where he was buried in the Moravian grave-yard.

huetten on the Mahoni. In a short time the new settlement had five hundred inhabitants. The mission prospered in every way until the year 1755, when war broke out between England and France. The heathen Indians joined the French and engaged in a campaign of wholesale murder and pillage. They made an unexpected attack on defenseless Gnadenhuetten, burned the mission buildings, and ten missionaries and their wives, besides a child, became a prey to their savage cruelty. The Christian Indians, about six hundred in all, were scattered in all directions, some of them finding refuge at Bethlehem and Nazareth.

Some of the fugitives settled Nain, near Bethlehem, and Wechquetank* on the north side of the Blue Mountains, but the sentiment of the white settlers was strongly against the Indians, whether Christian or heathen, and, as a result of it, one hundred and forty members of these congregations were dragged to Philadelphia, where they and their teachers languished in prison for one whole year (1764-1765). Many of them died of smallpox. Those who survived the imprisonment decided to push into the wilderness to get away from the white people, and consequently accepted the invitation of Papunhank, an Indian prophet who had been converted under the ministrations of Zeisberger, to accompany him to the junction of the Wyalusing and the Susquehanna, in what is now Bradford County. As a result, the flourishing settlement of Friedenshuetten sprung into existence at that place, in 1765. This mission won a great many converts among the heathen. Three years later Zeisberger founded a new station on the Allegheny and called it Friedenstaedt. Among the converts gained here was the renowned chieftain and orator, named Glikkikan.†

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*Wechquetank consisted of a tract of 1400 acres within the present limits of Monroe County, Pennsylvania. The mission was begun with thirty baptized Indians under Missionary Gottlob Sensemann, in April, 1760. It was abandoned three years later as a result of Pontiac's War.

†Glikkikan was a sachem renowned as a warrior and an orator of great ability. Having silenced the Jesuits many a time, and Protestant missionaries as well, he went to the mission-house on the Allegheny River for the express purpose of vanquishing the Christian teacher in argument, but Christ touched his heart and he became a Christian. He became an efficient

In 1771, Zeisberger visited the Delawares in the Tuscarawas Valley of Ohio and preached to them the first evangelical sermon delivered in that State. The Grand Council of the Delawares decided to put a large tract of land in the Tuscarawas at the disposal of the Christian Indians and formally invited the congregations at Friedenshuetten and Friedensstaedt to come and settle on it. The invitation was accepted and in due time mission stations were established at Schoenbrunn, Gnadenhuetten, Lichtenau and Salem. The Brethren Sensemann, Jung, John Heckewelder and Edwards assisted Zeisberger in his labors here. It was a time of unexampled prosperity until the year 1781, when the Revolutionary War broke out and the Christian Indians and their teachers were driven out of the Tuscarawas Valley. Four hundred of them were dragged into the wilderness and left to their fate on the Sandusky. After much suffering, one hundred and fifty Indians begged permission in February, 1782, to return to their plundered settlements to gather what they could find of their harvests. The result was the Gnadenhuetten massacre, in which twenty-nine men, twenty-seven women and thirty-four children lost their lives.

A number of scattered Christian Indians found refuge among the Delawares on the White River, in what is now Indiana, while others established themselves eventually at Fairfield, Canada. A number of the latter found their way back to Ohio, in 1798, and established Goshen, which existed until the year 1823, when the few who still remained removed to Fairfield. In 1837, a number of Fairfield Christians accompanied the missionaries Vogler and Miksch to Kansas, where New Westfield was established among the Delawares. This work did not prosper, and eventually Moravian labors among the Indians at this place as well as at Fairfield, ceased.

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helper and rendered great service to the mission in spite of the bitter persecutions to which he was subjected by his chief and former friends. His Christian name was Isaac. He perished in the Gnadenhuetten massacre, in 1782.

THE MORAVIAN MISSION AMONG THE INDIANS ON THE WHITE RIVER IN INDIANA

CHAPTER I

How the Mission Came to be Established

In the twilight of the eighteenth century, smoke might have been seen curling its way from the peaked roofs of the thatched huts of Indians living on the White River in what is now the State of Indiana. At least a thousand Indians had their homes in this vicinity. Of these the majority were Delawares, living in nine different villages which lay about five miles apart. This region they regarded as their ancient seat*, consequently, when driven westward by the encroachments and treachery of the whites, they settled here with the hope of rekindling their national council fire. Woapicamikunk (White River town), situated about three miles east of the present city of Muncie and lying on the same side of the river, was their principal town.

Unfortunately an unquenchable thirst for whisky wrought fearful havoc among them. In winter they would go five or six days' journey into the woods to hunt and after their return in late spring or early summer, they would spend most of their time in debauchery. They would often drag a hundred gallons of whisky into one of their towns, and after they once had a taste of it, they would not stop until the last drop was gone. They would not only give their last cent for the terrible intoxicant, but even the shirts from their backs. After some of their

*According to their own tradition, the Delaware Indians originally resided in the extreme western part of the American continent, whence they emigrated eastward. When a powerful tribe living in the Mississippi River valley disputed their way, they joined the Iroquois in a war against it and succeeded in driving out the enemy, whereupon the conquerors took possession of the country, the Iroquois choosing the lands in the vicinity of the great lakes, and the Delawares settling on those to the south. Here they claimed to have lived for hundreds of years. Gradually they moved east, where they made the Delaware River the center of their possessions.

carousals it was no uncommon sight to see a large number of Indians without a shred of clothing to their name. The war-chiefs themselves were guilty of drunkenness and even had whisky brought into the villages where their wives dispensed it to the people.

The Delawares were indolent and for the most part unambitious. All the work was done by the women, whose principal occupation was cutting and bringing in the fire wood, tilling the ground, sowing and reaping the grain, pounding the corn for their pottage and bread, and in season making maple sugar. Apart from simple cooking, their household labors were few. Much of the outside work was considerably lightened and at the same time made enjoyable by having a "bee" or frolic. Both the men and the women were greatly attached to their children and relatives. Gossiping, deceitfulness and lying were common faults. Whatever their character may have been before they came in contact with the white man, it is certain that they were a very degraded people when they lived on the White River. David Zeisberger,* who gave the best years of his life to mis-

*David Zeisberger, "the apostle of the Delawares," was born in Zauchtenthal, Bohemia, in 1721. When he was five years old, his parents fled to Herrnhut, for conscience' sake, and later emigrated to Georgia, whither sixteen-year-old David followed them from Holland, where he had been placed in school. From Georgia he went to Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, where he was converted. He consecrated himself to the cause of missions among the Indians. In New York, where he had gone to perfect himself in the Indian language, he was arrested as a spy and imprisoned for two months. Soon after his release from prison, he accompanied Bishop Spangenberg to Onondaga, the capital of the Six Nations, where he built a mission-house and was made keeper of the Grand Council archives. He was greatly beloved by the Indians, whom he called his "Brown Brethren." The Iroquois adopted him into their tribe and he was enrolled as a member of the Turtle clan. He was also naturalized by the Monseys. Through his labors, extending over sixty-three years, many hundreds of savages were led to embrace a consistent Christian life. He was fluent in the Delaware, Mohawk and Onondaga languages and familiar with many Indian dialects. His literary labors include a translation of the Bible and the Moravian hymn-book into Delaware, the compilation of a German-Delaware dictionary, and the composition of Onondaga and Delaware grammars. His itinerary led him to labor in Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan and Canada. His Indian name

sionary labors among the Delawares, regarded them as the most ordinary and vile of savages. They were said to have been more opposed to the gospel than any other Indian nation, which is not surprising, perhaps, when we remember that so many Christian converts from among their number were massacred in cold blood.*

Three tribes comprised the Delaware nation. They were the Turtle or Unami, the Turkey or Unalachtgo, and the Wolf or Minsi, which has been corrupted into Monsey. According to an ancient custom, the chief selected from the Turtle tribe was the head of the nation. This man was called the Peace Chief. As such he could neither go to war nor receive the war belt or string of dark wampum, which signified a declaration of hostilities. At the time of our history, Tedpachsit or Tatapachkse, a quiet, inoffensive and harmless man of sixty or more, was the Head Chief, having been elected to this position not long after the murder of his predecessor by Colonel David Williamson's party near Pittsburgh, in 1782. Though he never became a Christian, he was a man of fairly good character and had as such the best interests of his people at heart. In 1802, accompanied by a number of his warriors, he visited in the city of Washington and, on his way home, stopped for a while at Lititz, where he was entertained in the most hospitable manner by the Brethren.

Tedpachsit was assisted in the rule of his people by the war-chiefs, Pachgantschihilas or Pakantchilas and Hocking-pomsga. The latter was renowned as a witch-doctor. He was not only given to drink but dealt in whisky and derived from this nefarious traffic his only source of income. Needless to say, he was no friend of the Christian or white man. Pachgantschihilas was an aged and renowned warrior and a hardened pagan, strongly opposed to the conversion of his people to Christianity. Whatever he said in favor of Christianity or Chris-

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was Ganousseracheri, which means *"on the pumpkin."* Zeisberger died, in 1808, at Goshen, on the Muskingum River, Ohio.

*The two principal massacres were the one of Gnadenhuetten on the Mahoni in Pennsylvania, in 1755, and that of Gnadenhuetten on the Muskingum in Ohio, in 1782.

tian teachers was therefore sheer pretense. A great amount of shrewdness combined with unusual oratorical ability made him an influential factor among the Indians. They regarded him as their Washington. His address* to the Moravian Indians some time before the Gnadenhuetten massacre on the Muskingum is a striking evidence of his farsightedness, for in it he tried his best to persuade them to remove from the Tuscarawas to a place of safety. "I admit," said he, "that there are good white men, but they bear no proportion to the bad. The bad must be the stronger for they rule. They do what they please. They enslave those who are not of their color. They would make slaves of us, if they could, but as they cannot do it, they kill us. There is no faith to be placed in their words. They are not like the Indians, who are only enemies while at war, and are friends in peace. They will say to an Indian, 'My friend—My brother!' They will take him by the hand and at the same time destroy him. And so you (addressing the Christian Indians) will also be treated by them before long. Remember that this day I have warned you to beware of such friends as these. I know the long knives; they are not to be trusted." His words were prophetic; in eleven short months they were fulfilled.†

*Heckewelder's History of the Indian Nations, pp. 80-81.

†In the beginning of the year 1771, the Grand Council of the Delawares in the Tuscarawas Valley invited the Christian Indians of Friedenshuetten, Pennsylvania, to come to Ohio, where they might occupy lands, which would never be "sold under their feet to the white people." Chief Netawatwes or King Newcomer was the recognized head of the Delawares at this time. The invitation was accepted and the mission station of Schoenbrunn on the Tuscarawas was the result. The next year other Pennsylvania converts came, who established Gnadenhuetten ten miles down the valley. Three years later, Lichtenau was commenced, but it had to be given up after the third year of its existence, because it happened to be in the war-path of the hostile Indians. Its place was taken by Salem, which was founded five miles below Gnadenhuetten.

Netawatwes joined the Christians, and in every way it was a flourishing time for the mission. Then the Revolutionary War broke out. Unfortunately, both the British and the Americans looked upon the mission Indians with distrust, the former because a large number of the Delawares would not join their standards, and the latter because they claimed that the Indians sympathized with the English. In September, 1781, the

Not all the Delawares on the White River were heathen. Quite a number of baptized Indians had fled westward after the Gnadenhuetten massacre and made their home there. Many of these lapsed into heathenism but not a few remained loyal to the faith. Among the latter was an old man named Isaac, who used to live in Gnadenhuetten, where he served as an official lay-helper. This aged convert would not attend the sacrificial feasts of the Indians. He called them the Devil's Feasts. According to the testimony of some White River Indians, he observed the Christian Sabbath by singing hymns and by praying, and preached about God becoming man to the young people, who heard him gladly. In 1798, he rejoiced to hear that a number of fugitive Christian Indians had returned from Canada and, under the leadership of Zeisberger and Mortimer, had established the Goshen mission on the Muskingum. Old and decrepit, it was impossible for him to undertake the sixteen days' journey to Goshen, greatly as he would have enjoyed the privilege, but he earnestly urged others to go in order that they might better hear what he tried to tell them.

British took all the Christian Indians prisoners and led them away. The mission houses were plundered and destroyed. At the Sandusky the captives were deserted. With barely any provisions, they passed through a dreadful winter. In spring, a hundred and fifty Christian Indians returned to the Tuscarawas Valley for the purpose of gathering what they could find of their harvest.

When about to return to their brethren on the Sandusky, Colonel Williamson, in command of ninety American soldiers, came upon the scene, charged the peaceful Indians with the murder of the William Wallace family and with other outrages, and mercilessly murdered in cold blood ninety Christians and six visiting heathen Indians. Two boys alone escaped. The Schoenbrunn Indians received warning and fled to the Sandusky. From here a number of the converts went to Michigan, where they remained four years at New Gnadenhuetten, which they founded. When they left here, they located temporarily at Pilgerruh on the Cuyahoga, and in 1787 they settled at New Salem on the Petquotting or Huron River of Ohio. For fear that there might be another massacre in store for them, they emigrated to Canada, in April, 1792, where they established the mission at Fairfield, on what is now the River Thames. In August, 1798, Zeisberger and wife and Benjamin Mortimer, together with seven Indian families, returned to the beautiful Tuscarawas Valley, and founded the Goshen mission on the Muskigum, about two miles from the former site of Schoenbrunn. (See Hamilton's History of Moravian Missions.)

The fact that the missionaries Kluge and Luckenbach never mention Isaac would indicate that they never came across him. It is quite likely that he had died before they arrived. This same man used to be a great enemy of the gospel. While still a heathen, under the guise of friendship, he at one time attempted to kill David Zeisberger and he would have been successful, too, had not another Indian providentially interfered. The few baptized refugees who, like Isaac, remained faithful may have entertained the hope of a return to the Muskingum some day or of having missionaries come to them, but, strange to say, they had nothing to do with the founding of the mission on the White River.

As far as is known, the first communication in regard to missionary work in Indiana Territory passed between the Indians and the Moravians in the year 1797. In the diary* for that year, which Zeisberger kept at Fairfield, we read under date of October seventh: "From the Miami we learned through Abel,† who came from there, where he had visited friends, that the chief, Tedpachxit, had the wish that the Brethren would come to them and preach Christ's gospel. This was pleasant news to us, which we should have been glad to hear for a long time. We had thought of soon sending a deputation to him." On the sixteenth, he wrote: "Having had news from the Miami which seemed as if the Indians there were longing to hear the Word of God, we sent thither Bill Henry‡ with a couple of young men on a visit to get more exact information about this. They set out thither today by water, with our blessing."

November eleventh, he wrote: "At the Lord's Supper, Adam was again a partaker, after two years, both to our joy and to that of the congregation. Soon afterward, we had the pleasure of seeing come to us in good health Brother Bill Henry, with his son John, and one other, John Thomas, from the Miami. Of their visit they spoke as follows: 'After having been detained upon the lake by sucessive days of bad weather, we arrived

*From the translation of "Diary of Zeisberger," by Eugene F. Bliss, Vol. II, pp. 496, 497, 500-502.

†An Indian helper.

‡Same as Gelelemend or Kilbuck. Vid. Footnote, p. 248.

there and went to the chief, Tedpachxit, where we were kindly received. Bill Henry, who was spokesman, set forth to him that we were come, not only to see them, but to say something to them. He soon made preparations, calling together the chief men, and when this was done, Bill Henry said: "My dear friends, it is a pleasure after many years to see you once again, under God's guidance. The reason for our leaving home and coming to you is this: We heard some time ago that you would be glad to have God's Word preached and heard among you, that there are many who long for it, that there are also some of our baptized brethren who are waiting for this, and wish they had the opportunity to hear God's Word, being unable to come to us, because we live so far away from them. This is the reason, and no other, why we have undertaken the journey here, for if we hear that any one longs for God's Word, the word of life, we are ready to serve him with it, since we like to see our fellowmen and friends share in this good and be saved. We are therefore come to see and to learn from you how you are disposed in regard to the matter, so that we may bring trustworthy news to those who sent us. As soon as we have heard you, we intend to return whence we came."

"'It also happened that the captain, Pachgantschihilas, was present. He has always been a great foe to the preaching of the gospel among the Indians. He asked us who had brought us the news. He was told that it was one of our people, who had come back from here some time ago. He replied, that we should not listen to such words for if they wished to send us a message we should see it accompanied by a string of wampum. Of this message they knew nothing. Now the truth was, Chief Tedpachxit had spoken thus with our Abel, but he dared not admit it before the great captain. This fact was established by the following, which this very captain related to Bill Henry, namely, that some time before he had charged a certain Indian, who was going to Fairfield, to speak with our Indians, and propose to them that they come back again from across the lake; that the Indian had returned with the answer that we had no disposition for this, being so well established here. He asked whether the thing was really so. The answer was that the same Indian had

been with us many days, but had not said a word about this to any one, and we knew nothing about it.'

"Thus it appears that the captain would be glad to have us over the lake again, but will have nothing to do with the preaching of the gospel. If we only have the opportunity, we will not ask the chiefs. They must adapt themselves to it. They further said to the brethren that the Quakers in Philadelphia had made them an offer and advised them to move together, not live so scattered about; that they would send people to build them houses and teach them agriculture; that they could send mechanics to teach them their work and to make them a civilized people, for which cause they had much money to spend. If the proposal pleased them, namely, the Delawares, they should come to Philadelphia; they would speak with them and set the thing in motion. And, as it seems, they are not disinclined, for they said they thought of going thither in Spring. Thus the brethren came back. It is to be hoped that their journey was not in vain, and they will undoubtedly think about the matter. They also thought of and spoke to Indians who would like to come to us, and an old baptized widow is now on her way hither to remain. But this is to be said further of the Delaware nation: It is scattered at present from Canada to the Mississippi, and their present chief has little weight and authority."

As far as is known, the Fairfield Christians and the Delawares had no further negotiations in regard to the preaching of the gospel on the White River. After the Goshen mission had been established, there was considerable intercourse of a friendly nature between the Christian Indians and their heathen relatives and friends on the Woapicamikunk. Thus it happened, May 5, 1799, that Chief Hockingpomsga had occasion to visit in Goshen. The missionaries were not at home at the time, consequently it fell to the lot of William Henry Gelelemend or Kilbuck,* as he was more familiarly known among the whites, and

*Gelelemend or Kilbuck, supposed to have been born in the neighborhood of Lehigh Gap, Northampton County, in the year 1737, was the grandson of the well-known chief Netawatwes. That he was a man of considerable influence is seen from the fact that he was at one time chief counsellor of the Turkey Tribe and, after the death of Captain White Eyes, temporarily installed as head chief. He was a strenuous advocate

his Indian brethren, to entertain the guest. In the course of his stay, they reminded the old warrior that it had been the call of good chief Netawatwes* that had brought the Christian Indians from their homes on the Susquehanna to the Muskingum, and that it had been his last wish that the Delawares should accept the gospel. When Hockingpomsga returned home, he carried with him an urgent invitation to his people to come to Goshen to hear the Word of God. Whatever his own feelings may have been in the matter, he was true to the confidence reposed in him and delivered the message.

In answer to Gelelemend's invitation nothing was heard for a whole year. At last, in April, 1800, Tedpachsit and his Council sent to Goshen as deputy, Tulpe Najundam (he who carries a turtle), the brother of Pachgantschihilas, who delivered the following message: "My friends, we received your communication. Our Chief and our great captains, our warriors and our young people, our women and our children were all greatly pleased over your words. The reason you have not heard from us before is because my people were not at home. As soon as they returned, I acquainted them with your invitation and they were all pleased with it. My friends, we have here a large tract of land that belongs to us. Gelelemend, I take you and your friends by the hand, therefore, and bring you here, and settle you near me on the Woapicamikunk."

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of peace during the Revolutionary War and in consequence made a great many enemies among the Indians. His life was imperilled more than once. In the summer of 1788, he joined the Moravian Indians at Salem on the Petquotting River. He was baptized and received the name of William Henry, in honor of Judge William Henry of Lancaster, a member of Congress, who helped to survey the Tuscarawas reservation, in 1797. In the early winter of 1811, in the eightieth year of his life, he passed away at Goshen, Ohio. John Henry Kilbuck, a direct lineal descendant, graduated from the Moravian College and Theological Seminary, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, in 1884. Immediately after his graduation he served for a number of years as Moravian missionary among the Eskimos in Alaska, where he is at present a teacher in the United States Government school.

*The head-chief of the Delaware Nation immediately before the American Revolution. His wisdom kept the Delawares from the slaughter of white people of which other tribes were guilty. He died in 1776.

The message to which this was the answer said nothing in the least about any desire on the part of the Christian Indians to move away from Goshen. According to Tulpe Najundam, a member of the council had expressed the fear that the Goshen Indians, having their own land where they were and therefore being well satisfied, would not care to leave. Furthermore, some one had made the statement that the Christian Indians would not come without their teachers. In view of all this, the council immediately decided to set apart for the Goshen Indians a large tract of land where they might dwell together unmolested and in safety. As for the teachers, it was taken for granted that they would accompany the Indians without inviting them separately.

This gracious invitation was received with considerable pleasure by the Goshen missionaries. While they were not wholly carried away by this unexpected show of friendliness, they could not help but regard it as partly sincere, to say the least. They did not believe for a moment that the Delaware Council had been seized all of a sudden by an unselfish desire to further the gospel nor that the Indians really wanted to hear and receive the Word of God. Having heard frequent rumors that some of the Christian refugees on the White River had expressed the hope of returning to the Muskingum, they supposed that the underlying motive of the invitation was the desire of the chiefs to have all their people live at the same place, and that, for this reason, they had thought it expedient to have the gospel preached among them, so that the Christian Indians at Goshen and elsewhere might be attracted to come to the White River, and those already there be prevented from moving to Goshen. But whatever their thoughts and suspicions, they could not help but look upon the whole proceeding as a wonderful opportunity to bring a heathen nation to Christ.

The Goshen Indians, though they would have been loath to leave their settlement, were unanimous in their opinion that the invitation of the Chief and the Grand Council should receive a favorable reply. An Indian helper expressed the mind of all when he said: "We can believe our friends on the Woapicamikunk. To understand the gospel, they must have it preached to them. For that reason, teachers must go and live among them

and preach the Word daily." Nevertheless the matter could not be decided in a day, nor could the final decision be made by the missionaries. Force of circumstances made it necessary to withhold the decisive word for a year. Meanwhile, however, a provisional answer was sent. This message read: "As I saw my friend come to the place where I live and I looked upon his face, my heart was filled with hope and joy. There occurred to me what our former Chief, Netawatwes, had told us, while we were still living on the Susquehannah. As I heard that you, my friend, desired to take me by the hand and set me down near you, I was glad. My friend! I will let you know that here I live on my own land, but I listen to your word nevertheless. I cannot rise so easily, however, my friend. I must first send your word to my brother across the lake. He lives a great distance from here. When I receive his answer, I will let you know. How long it will take before I can inform you, I cannot tell. It may take until next Spring. From this day, however, I will think of you with pleasure; think also of me." The customary string of wampum accompanied the message.

CHAPTER II

The Missionaries Called and their Journey to Goshen

In April, 1800, Zeisberger wrote to the brethren of the Helpers' Conference* at Bethlehem, urging them to accept the invitation of the Delawares, and suggesting that either two efficient married brethren or a married couple and a single brother be sent to them as missionaries. He intimated that several Indian families from Goshen and a number from Fairfield, Canada, might be found willing to accompany them. The Helpers' Conference took the matter under prayerful advisement, and, under the gracious guidance of the Lord, it was decided, August fifteenth, to begin the new work. This decision was at once communicated to the various congregations by means of a circular letter, and the proposed mission became the subject of earnest supplication in prayer meetings. In due time, Abraham Luckenbach,† a twenty-three-year-old teacher at

*The official board which administered the affairs of all the Moravian settlement congregations and missions among the Indians in America. It was the forerunner of the Provincial Elders' Conference, which is the executive board of the Provincial Synod. The original title was "Conference of Helpers in General of the Congregations and Stations in Pennsylvania and adjacent Parts."

†Abraham Luckenbach was born May 5, 1777, in Upper Saucon Township, Lehigh County, Pennsylvania. His parents were originally Mennonites, but, soon after his birth, they became associated with the Moravians at Emmaus, where Abraham was baptized by the Rev. Francis Boehler, January 19, 1779. Some years later the family located in the neigbhorhood of Bethlehem, where they joined the Moravian Church. In the spring of 1786, they removed to Hope, New Jersey. Here Abraham became a communicant member of the Moravian congregation by the rite of confirmation, after having been carefully instructed by the Rev. Lewis Boehler. Two years later, in 1792, he returned to Bethlehem, where he learned the trade of cabinet maker in the employ of Franz Thomas. In the autumn of 1797, he went to Nazareth for the purpose of establishing a cabinet-making business, but, meeting with difficulties at the outset, he accepted an appointment as teacher in Nazareth Hall, which was then

Nazareth Hall, and John Peter Kluge,* who had recently arrived in Bethlehem from Surinam, received the call and accepted it with joy.

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under the management of the Rev. Charles G. Reichel. Having previously offered himself as a candidate for the mission field, he was called to assist John Peter Kluge as missionary among the Indians on the White River in Indiana Territory. In this capacity he labored with great faithfulness for a little over five years, when the mission had to be abandoned. He then taught seven months at Nazareth Hall, after which he was appointed assistant missionary to the Brethren Zeisberger and Mortimer at Goshen. September 8, 1813, he was joined in marriage to Rosina Heckedorn, of Lititz, Pennsylvania. This union was blest with three children, of whom one died in infancy. His two daughters found their home in Bethlehem, the one marrying the late Simon Rau and the other the late Charles G. Roepper. From 1820-1843, he had sole charge of the Indian mission at Fairfield, Canada, when increasing physical weakness necessitated his return to Bethlehem, where he arrived in July. Here he busied himself with visiting the sick, distributing religious tracts among the Lehigh Canal boatmen, re-editing the second edition of Zeisberger's "Delaware Hymn Book," and publishing "Select Scripture Narratives from the Old Testament in Delaware." He died March 8, 1854.

*John Peter Kluge was born October 3, 1768, in Gumbinnen, Prussia. Soon after his birth, he was baptized in the Reformed Church. His father was a mason by trade. His mother belonged to the Moravian Society and sent her youngest son to a school teacher of the same faith for instruction. As a child he delighted in playing that he was a minister. The Reformed minister, observing this predilection for preaching, offered to give him private instruction and, later on, send him to Koenigsberg to school. From there he was to enter the university. His god-fearing mother frustrated this plan, because she was afraid that her child might be led astray by skeptical teachers. His mother having been left a widow, married a tailor. John was to learn the trade of his step-father, but he did not like it. After trying his hand at a number of different things, he went to a brother at Insterburg, from there to Neusalz, later to Gnadenberg, and, in 1789, to Kleinwelke, where he joined the Moravian Church. After teaching a year he accepted the call to mission service among the Arawack Indians in Surinam. Here his post of labor was at Hope on the Corentyne in Dutch Guiana. August 27, 1800, he came to the United States and from 1800-1806 he labored among the Indians on the White River. Six children were the fruit of his marriage to Anna Maria Rank. Of these Karl Friedrich, Henrietta and John Henry were born on the White River. After their return from the west, he received, in 1807, a call to North Carolina, where he served the congregations at Bethabara and Bethania until the year 1819, when he was appointed pastor at Graceham, Maryland. Here his wife died of consumption, February, 1820. Seven months later

Both men were single, but Kluge expressed his willingness to be married, if the Lord would provide a suitable helpmate. Those were the days when the Brethren made considerable use of the lot.* The names of all eligible young women in the Bethlehem congregation—needless to say without their knowledge—were therefore taken under prayerful consideration and submitted to the lot. In each case the answer was negative. Thereupon the elders of the Nazareth congregation were fraternally requested to send a list of likely candidates for married honors. They did this, but Kluge's wife was not among the number. Clearly the proverbial right one had been sought in the wrong place. Not in Bethlehem nor in Nazareth, but in Lititz, she had

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he married Elizabeth Eyerly, of Lititz, with whom he served the Graceham congregation until 1827. In July of that year he accepted a call to York, Pa., where, in December, he was again left a widower. September, 1828, he was ordained a presbyter by Bishop Anders at Lititz. January 29, 1828, he married for the third time, the bride being Miss Maria E. Albright, of Bethlehem, Pa. He served the York congregation until 1833, when a severe attack of rheumatism compelled him to seek retirement for the time being. Later he took temporary charge of Emmaus, where he served until the fall of 1838. From there he retired to Nazareth and, two years later, he removed to Bethlehem, where his wife died in 1842 and he himself passed away after considerable suffering, January 30, 1849. Karl Friedrich, his oldest child, was the father of the late Rev. Edward T. Kluge, a well-known retired Moravian minister who died at Nazareth, Pa., in 1912.

*The use of the lot in deciding important cases in which divine guidance was desired dates back to antiquity. It was employed by the ancients, adopted by the Jews and later extensively used in the Christian Church. The custom is, therefore, not peculiar to the Moravian Church. As far as is known the first official use of the lot made by the Moravians in the Renewed Church was in the appointment of elders in Herrnhut, in 1727. For many years restricted to the confirmation of certain elections or appointments, it was officially abolished by the General Synod of 1889. The use of the lot in connection with marriages or ministerial appointments was by no means the arbitrary instrument it is popularly supposed to have been. Two persons joined in marriage by lot had either given their previous consent to the arrangement or, if their names were submitted without their knowledge, gave voluntary assent to the decision afterwards. In either case the final decision was in the hands of the parties concerned. The same held true in the appointment of ministers. If the official board put the matter to the lot without the consent of the miniser involved, he could accept or decline the call as he saw fit.

her home. Thus it came about that Brother Kluge journeyed to that village in the early part of October and was there joined in marriage to Anna Maria Rank. On the twelfth of the same month, the day on which her husband and Brother Luckenbach were ordained to the diaconate of the Moravian Church, at Bethlehem, the young bride was accepted as an acolyte.*

October fifteenth, at high noon, the missionaries started on their journey from Bethlehem to Goshen, where they intended to spend some time for the purpose of acquainting themselves with the Delaware language and preparing themselves in other ways for their future work. They were accompanied as far as Allentown by Brother Luckenbach's mother and sister, the Brethren Cunow and Schaff with their wives, and the Brethren Van Vleck and Stadiger. Here the whole party enjoyed a farewell vesper. Soon after the meal was over the freight wagon, which conveyed them and their baggage to Goshen, came to the door and the affectionate farewells had to be spoken. The leave-taking naturally filled the hearts of the missionaries with sadness, but this feeling was dispelled after a short silence by singing the hymn which Sister Kliest had prepared especially for them. Perched on the baggage-laden wagon slowly lumbering its way westward, they sang:

"Ihr Friedensboten zieht an die Wabash hin,
Und predigt den Heiland mit frohem Sinn."†

Their experiences on the way were many and varied, and, needless to say, not always pleasant. For the most part hotel accommodations were of the worst. Drinking and card-playing were met almost everywhere. The second night of their journey they stayed with a hotel-keeper named Klein. Here they found a bad company of half-drunken travellers, who played cards on the same table on which the missionaries' supper was served.

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*"The reception of acolytes-followers in the sense of Matt. iv, 19; xvi, 24- is a usage introduced in the Moravian Church, according to which brethren and sisters give the right hand of agreement to serve the Saviour in the Church, and to be obedient to the servants of the Unity who are set over them."—*Results, Gen. Synod, p. 91.*

† "You messengers of peace, for the Wabash start,
And preach the Saviour with joyful heart."

The landlord was persuaded to send the card-players away from the table. After the meal was over the mission-party, desirous to secure the needed rest and to escape the companionship of the disorderly guests, retired for the night but sleep was out of the question. One of the drunken men spent the greater part of the night in playing on a violin and in singing. The bedroom door had no lock and consequently had to remain wide open. This made them uneasy, because they feared that one of the drunken vagabonds might actually come into the room. At midnight their fears were realized, when a husky fellow stealthily entered. Brother Kluge became aware of his presence, immediately sprang out of bed and demanded what he wanted, but the man evidently thought it the better part of valor not to debate the matter and beat a hasty retreat. In the morning they related the occurrence to the landlord, but he gave them little satisfaction.

Immediately after breakfast they left the scene of their unpleasant experience and travelled through rain and mud all day long. It was some time after dark when they reached a resting-place for the night, and then it was nothing more than a bed of straw. After darkness had set in their journey became exceedingly perilous. The heavy rains had made the road dangerous, therefore the two brethren waded through the mud to pick out a safe way for the driver to follow with the team, otherwise the wagon would have been sure to upset. Soaked to the skin they finally reached their lodging-place. After they had appeased their appetite they retired at once, and this time to sleep soundly. The next morning they continued their journey through the rain and in the evening, at seven oclock, they reached Lititz with grateful hearts. Here they were cordially received by the brethren and sisters.

On account of the heavy rains, which continued a number of days longer, the missionaries were pledged to enjoy Lititz hospitality until the twenty-first of the month, when, at seven o'clock in the morning, the journey was resumed, Sister Kluge riding a horse which her father had given her, while her husband was mounted on one which a brother-in-law had loaned him. The day was beautiful and a large number of relatives and friends had gathered to bid them God-speed. Not satisfied with

merely seeing them off, some of these well-wishing friends accompanied the missionaries part of the way, the sisters of the bride going as far as Mannheim. Here the first parting from friendly escorts took place after many tender words and solicitous tears. Some distance farther on, the remaining friends took their tearful leave and turned back. The leave-taking, however, was not yet over. Two of the brothers, Phillip and George, went still farther, the former going as far as the Muskingum River, and the latter to Elizabethtown, where the party arrived in the evening. Here they found comfortable quarters for the night at the hotel of an Irish landlord.

Next morning after breakfast they proceeded on their way, in due time passed through Middletown and by evening arrived at Harrisburg, where they stayed over night. At an early hour on the following day, they were ferried across the broad and beautiful Susquehannah, whence they made their way westward. On the twenty-fourth, they fed their horses and took dinner at a way-side inn about eleven miles east of Shippensburg. Being very hungry, they asked to have a large mess of potatoes cooked for them. This must have given the hostess the impression that they were very poor, for she said: "You undoubtedly come from a land where the people eat potatoes instead of bread." The missionaries replied that they were from a place where the people had as much bread as they wanted, but they were none the less fond of potatoes. This seemed to satisfy the good woman and in a short time a large, steaming dish of the desired food was placed before them, which served to satisfy their ravenous appetite. They spent the night at a good hotel in Shippensburg, which at that time consisted of a number of well-built log-houses scattered along one street about a mile in length.

Here they had their horses shod and consequently they could not leave until ten o'clock the next morning. In the afternoon they came to the Blue Mountains. Not only was the road very steep but rocky and dangerous withal. They spent the night at the hotel of an Irishman who was not at all hospitable. Bollinger, the driver, had told the missionaries that this man was not friendly to the Brethren, and his words were soon verified. He walked about the whole evening with a paper in his hand, apparently so that he would not have to associate with his un-

welcome guests. Finally, one of his friends came, whereupon he disappeared entirely. Otherwise the accommodations were not bad. Next day they continued their weary and dangerous journey over the steep, rocky road and in the evening found lodging with a hotelkeeper who made up in friendliness what he lacked in accommodations. Having no extra bed, he placed his own at the disposal of Brother and Sister Kluge. Unfortunately it was not at all clean and the occupants for the night had much to suffer from fleas. Brother Luckenbach's bed-fellow was saturated with whisky before he retired, but this did not interfere in the least with his draining one glass after another of the fiery liquor during the night, a fact which naturally did not add to his unfortunate companion's comfort. Apparently the missionaries were not wholly dissatisfied with their experience, because they comforted themselves with the thought that it might have been worse. In the diary for the day we read: "We were only too glad that we escaped without getting lice."

Two days later they came to Bedford, at that time a small, homely looking village where they could not so much as buy a piece of meat for their journey. Six miles west of Bedford they stopped at a most wretched hotel for the night. They were very hungry and ordered their usual supper. This, however, was prepared in a way that it would have been far better had they not seen it. The beds were filthy. Not only was the one which was assigned to Brother and Sister Kluge alive with bedbugs, but it had such an evil smell that it was necessary to spread their traveling blankets over the pillows so that they would not have to inhale the bad odor. The bed-chamber had but one small window and that was without a sash. An old hat was stuffed in the opening. Brother Luckenbach slept with the host and had to contend with similar afflictions. Suffice it to say, the missionaries did not sleep much that night and they welcomed the light of morning. They had mutton for breakfast. This they had seen a ragged-looking butcher bring the night before in a greasy old sack which he had slung across the saddle of his horse. Early in the day they left the hotel without regrets.

They traveled all day and in the evening came to a German hotel where they found comfortable quarters for the night. The hostess told them that she had friends in Bethlehem. Every-

thing about the hotel appeared to be in good order, the meals were good, and above all, the beds were clean, which compensated to a certain extent for the miserable lodging of the night before. At seven o'clock next morning they continued their journey and by evening they had reached the other side of the Allegheny mountains. Here they found a hotel in which they were well entertained. November first, at one o'clock in the afternoon, they arrived in Somerset, which was at that time a small, insignificant village having but one street. Here they remained two hours, during which time an auction was held at the hotel in which they stayed. The auctioneer called together the people with a cow-bell. The whisky bottle was constantly passed around among the prospective buyers. After the sale was over, two boys competed for a prize of thirty dollars by running a race which was concluded with a mighty shout.

After the horses had been rested and fed, they left Somerset and stopped for the night at a comfortable hotel six miles farther on. The following day they took dinner at a little wayside inn near which a falling tree had killed seven persons not long before. The victims had been intoxicated and had quarreled considerably when death overtook them. When the man who related this incident heard that the missionaries were on their way to the Muskingum, he said: "I would like to go there, too, because I have heard that they have free schools for children in that locality. I am a poor man but I would like to have my children educated." In the evening, after they had traveled twelve miles that day, they came to a hotel where they lodged for the night. On the whole the entertainment was not bad, though the beds were very hard and, the weather having turned cold, the missionaries had a difficult time keeping warm. Next morning the ground was frozen hard. After fourteen miles had been traversed, they again halted for the night and found comfortable quarters with a hotel-keeper named Maeklin. After leaving here they traveled ten miles and came to the so-called Chestnut Hill. This time they had to stay over night at an ill-kept farmhouse. The food was by no means of the best and they had to sleep in a room over the spring-house, where flax had been hackled the day before. There was an exceedingly bad odor about the place.

The accommodations were very poor but the missionaries had to pay dearly for everything. The farmer began to make out his bill the evening before in spite of the fact that he did not know what actual expense his guests would prove to him. One little incident will go far toward showing the disreputable character of the place. In a corner of the living room stood a small uncovered barrel of honey, in which a barefooted child was seen wading in undisguised enjoyment. The frugal old grandfather carefully lifted the child out, scraped off the honey that had accumulated between the toes and on the legs, and threw it back into the barrel. Some of that honey later found its way to the supper table. Perhaps the missionaries did not like sweet things, or may be they were loath to lessen any future enjoyment the ragged urchin might want to have, at least there is no record that they ate honey that evening. And one can hardly blame them if they did not indulge.

Another unpleasant experience awaited them the following night when they stayed at a hotel eleven miles farther on, near the banks of the Monongahela. Hardly had they entered the house when Brother Kluge's new cloth overcoat and his wife's new boots mysteriously disappeared from the wagon and were never again seen by the owners. Later the landlord warned them to keep on the watch, because things had been stolen more than once in his hotel. When the horse is stolen, it is too late to lock the door. The advice would have been excellent in season but unfortunately it came too late to be of service to the poor victims. If it were not the principal business of the historian to chronicle facts, he would like to assume the role of a prophet in this connection and venture to point out the guilty person who undoubtedly had taken charge of the stolen overcoat and footwear. A drunken driver kept up a continual uproar all the evening and for the greater part of the night, indulging in the most disgraceful speeches and the coarsest profanity. The good-for-nothing landlord joined him in every wicked action and in the singing of his ribald songs. None of this the poor missionaries could escape because their bed-chamber adjoined the bar-room and the worst of it was, there was no door between the two that could be closed. It seemed to them as if they were surrounded by a swarm of evil spirits. The conditions were almost

unbearable. In spite of the fact that they had not slept a wink, they were glad when morning dawned and they could leave this veritable den of robbers.

In the afternoon they at last reached long-looked-for Pittsburg. Here they found very comfortable quarters in "The Stag," a hotel near the market-place. Soon after their arrival they called on a Mr. Addison and handed him the letter of introduction which Brother Jacob Van Vleck, Head-pastor of the Bethlehem Congregation and member of the Helpers' Conference, had given them. Mr. Addison and his wife received them very cordially and invited them to the house for breakfast next morning. They gladly accepted the kind invitation and presented themselves at the appointed hour. They talked over various matters pertaining to their journey with their host and among other things related their disagreeable experience of the night before, whereupon he expressed his displeasure over the occurrence and promised to do all that he could to have the stolen goods restored to them. After taking friendly leave of him, the missionaries returned to their hotel. In the afternoon several hundred soldiers marched into the city to the strains of stirring martial airs and immediately made their way to the wharf, where, bearskin caps, bright uniforms and all, they embarked on thirteen large boats, which lay in readiness to convey them to the various forts scattered along the Ohio River. Though the city was still small, it was even then a pleasant and lively place.

November eighth, at nine o'clock in the morning, they were ferried across the river. Here they came across glass-works, through which they were taken, though there was little to see, because the plant lay partly idle at the time. The German workmen were very cordial and took great delight in showing and explaining all that there was to be seen. After traveling twelve miles over fairly good roads they came to the home of an Irish farmer, at nightfall. This man was an ardent Presbyterian. They asked permission to stay over night, but under no circumstances would he promise to lodge them unless they would give their word that they would spend the next day, which was the Sabbath, with him. Because it was night and therefore all thought of proceeding farther out of the question, there was

nothing for them to do but to accede to the farmer's wishes, much as they would have preferred to make use of the beautiful weather and push forward next day.

After they had partaken of a meager supper, the family and guests joined in evening prayers. The host began the worship by reading in an unnatural voice a long lesson from the Bible. After that the daughter of the house sang in a peculiar manner. It sounded as if she was trying to imitate a church-choir. The missionaries observed that she had sung or chanted Psalms which had been set to strange tunes. After the singing the guests were of the opinion that the worship was at an end, but they were mistaken; all now knelt, and the host engaged in a long prayer which was accompanied by sighs and groans that might have been heard quite a distance away. At last the worship came to a close and the tired pilgrims were glad to retire for the night. Next day morning prayers were held after the manner of the evening before, and then a meager breakfast followed. This meal had to last for the whole day because the family did not believe in cooking on the Sabbath. Praying and fasting was the veritable portion of the missionaries throughout the day.

At eleven o'clock in the morning all went an hour's distance to church. The missionaries accompanied the family, which pleased the host very much. When they reached the church, they found the men and the women sitting together, which naturally surprised the Brethren, because they were not acquainted with the custom. On a small elevation shaped like a barrel without a bottom and surrounded with boards, stood a man with long flowing hair; a torn blue coat with large buttons was part of his apparel. Every time he moved his arms one could see the shirt protrude. And this was the eminent divine of whom the host had boasted so much! Shouting and coughing in a terrible manner, he entertained his hearers for two long hours. Then there came the singing of a hymn. The Brethren thought the rather dry sermon had come to a close but they were wrong; the minister had merely paused for a little rest and soon began afresh. The church being very cold, Brother Kluge could not endure it any longer and consequently left before the service was over. The others did not get out of church until four o'clock, so that the sermon lasted four hours in all. Bollinger, their teamster,

blistered his feet in going and coming from church, and subsequently had to suffer a great deal of pain, which helped him to remember the unique sermon for a long time. For supper they had the potatoes which had been boiled the evening before and a little salt meat in addition. Evening worship, as previously prescribed, followed. The host urged the missionaries to sing a number of Moravian hymns. After that they retired, but the family sang a good while longer.

Early in the morning they proceeded on their way and after they had traveled fourteen miles they stopped again with a farmer. Having bought some meat and other articles of food at Pittsburg, they here enjoyed their own supper. Their bedchamber was well aired, the two small windows being without panes. The wind blew over them briskly during the night and they were reminded of the camp-life in the woods to which they looked forward. At this place Brother Luckenbach bought a small horse, on which he rode for the rest of the way. At three o'clock of the following afternoon they were in Georgetown, where they found entertainment at the house of a man named Thomas Schmidt. Here they bought oats and hay for the horses and provided themselves with the necessary provisions for their journey through the woods. Half their baggage had to be unloaded and left in charge of Schmidt until it could be brought to the Muskingum. The room thus made in the wagon was stuffed with the hay and the oats.

On the thirteenth, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, they were ready to be ferried across the Ohio, but the wind was so strong that the ferry-men feared there might be an accident if everything should be taken over at the same time, consequently the four horses were transported first. The boisterous waves dashed into the boat several times, which made them still more fearful to cross with the heavily laden wagon. But the horses were on the other side and the attempt had to be made. They prayed fervently to the Lord and Saviour whom the winds and the sea obey and He heard them. As soon as the wagon was on the boat, there was a perfect calm and the passage was made in safety. The ferry-men were astonished at the whole proceeding. With thankful hearts and greatly encouraged, the missionaries continued on their way. The assistance of the Saviour appeared

the more remarkable to them because it was the thirteenth of November,* and they had prayed for the special blessing of their gracious Lord and Elder.

After they had traveled five miles, they reached the home of a farmer, where they lodged for the night. The house was very small and had no windows. After they had prepared their supper and had partaken of it, they made a bed on the floor, right in front of a log fire. They slept very well during the night. Only once were their slumbers disturbed, and that was when the house cat, probably misled by the odor of meat in the room, jumped up somewhere in the dark and threw down the poor woman's coffee cups, breaking them and scattering the pieces over the unsuspecting missionaries. After they had read, as usual, the daily text, they started out again. The roads were rough and one of Bollinger's horses was sick, so they hitched up Sister Kluge's riding horse in addition. At the home of a farmer named John George they bought a quart of milk and otherwise prepared themselves for their first camping experience. Arrived in the woods, they immediately built a large log fire. Having no tent, they fastened Brother Kluge's hammock to two trees, and stretched a line on which they hung blankets. This formed a roof-like protection and under it Brother and Sister Kluge reposed peacefully. A similar covering was erected for Brother Luckenbach, and, as is usually the case in the woods, he slept soundly. While the men were engaged in preparing for the night, Sister Kluge boiled a large dish of rice and meat, which the hungry pilgrims enjoyed greatly while seated around the blazing log fire. Supper over, they sang a few verses, committed themselves to the gracious care and keeping of the Lord, and then retired to their improvised tents.

Next morning they enjoyed their usual devotions and, after they had breakfasted, they resumed their journey. In this way they spent three nights very contentedly in the woods. The fourth and last night, however, their experience was not so pleasant. A heavy thunder-storm, accompanied by vivid lightning, wind and

*An important Festival Day in the Moravian Church in memory of a powerful spiritual experience following the Church's formal appropriation of the Saviour as her Chief Elder, in 1741.

rain, arose in the evening and soaked them to the skin. The trees creaked and strained all night long. Their experience was quite terrifying. They commended themselves to the keeping of the Lord and in the morning they thanked Him for the gracious protection which He had afforded them in the midst of their dangers. By that time the wind had died down but with the calm came falling snow to make them uncomfortable.

On the seventeenth of November they were met by a number of Indian Brethren from Goshen, who had letters from Brother and Sister Mortimer announcing that these Indians had been sent with two canoes for the purpose of bringing the missionaries' belongings from Stillwater to Goshen. The baggage was transferred to the canoes and taken to its destination. The three white people followed by land, Brother Kluge riding on the horse of the Indian brother Charles, Brother Luckenbach on the one which he had purchased and Sister Kluge on her own horse. The Indian brother William Henry rode ahead as guide, passing through thorns and brambles, while the rest of the party followed, Indian-file, as well as they could. Ten dogs were their other companions. These tore, from time to time, at the deer and bear meat which old William Henry had slung across his saddle. Finally, on the eighteenth of November, at five o'clock in the afternoon, they arrived safely in Goshen, where they were heartily welcomed by the brethren and sisters. With deeply grateful hearts for the Saviour's gracious care and keeping on their long, weary journey, they sang praises to their God.

CHAPTTR III

The Journey from Goshen to the White River

At the suggestion of the Goshen Indians, a deputation was sent to Woapicamikunk several months before the missionaries and their Indian associates left for the White River. The object was to elicit, if possible, a definite statement from the Chiefs and their Council whether or not they really desired the Christian Indians and their teachers to come and live among them; to learn by personal observation what the actual conditions were which would confront the mission; and to ascertain the best route to follow in making the journey from Goshen to the Woapicamikunk. Charles and Jacob, two Christian Indians, were the chosen deputies. They left Goshen, January 9, 1801, and in due time delivered to the Chiefs the following message:

"My old Friend! Thou who sittest and meditatest what is best! I rejoice that the day is come that we will see one another. Our Creator has destined this for us. Listen to me, my Friend! Thou didst speak with me last spring and we have considered the matter. Thou didst say to me: 'I take thee kindly by the hand and set thee near me upon my land.' Thereupon I said to my Friend: 'I am anxious to do according to thy word; I will report to thee further in fall, or at latest the following spring.' Now, my Friend! Thou, my Elder!* Listen to me kindly. I remember our deceased Chief. I recall the words of our departed Elder, who felt sorry for us; who took the Christian Indians by the hand and led them to the other side of the great wilderness,†

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*The title which the Delawares gave their chiefs when they addressed them.

†The extensive mountainous district which lay between the Susquehannah and the Ohio Rivers.

where they lived, and brought them to Gekelemukpechnunk.* And their teachers journeyed with them. Now listen, my Friend! Listen to me, my Elder! I let you know that I want to come with my teachers so that you too may have pleasure in the future."†

Both the message and the messengers were received in the most cordial manner. Pachgantschihilas' welcome was especially hearty. He complained in private that his young people were exceedingly foolish and not at all obedient to his exhortations. He expressed the hope, however, that they would do better after the Christian Indians came and lived among them. Tedpachsit was of like mind. The deputies made the acquaintance of a great many Indians who had been baptized by the brethren on the Muskingum before the days of the massacre, and all expressed their joy over the fact that missionaries would come and live among them. Some said that they would stop drinking immediately, while some of the more conservative ones promised to do so after the Christian teachers had arrived.

The report of Charles and Jacob was so favorable that the Goshen missionaries could not help but rejoice. Hitherto they had been doubtful and had entertained the suspicion that the Delawares might not have been strictly honest in their overtures. Now, however, they were satisfied that their fears were ungrounded. Zeisberger was of the opinion that never before, since the beginning of the mission among the Indians, had the prospects for the spread of the gospel among the red men been more favorable than they were on the Woapicamikunk.

The former answer sent by the chiefs was essentially as follows: The Chiefs and all men, women and children, rejoiced to hear that the Christian Indians were coming to them; they declared that a large, comfortable place had been prepared for them, where they might quietly dwell together in peace and

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*The first capital of the Delawares in Ohio. Here the first Protestant sermon in that State was preached. It was abandoned by the tribe in 1775. Its site is covered by the present town of Oxford.

†This was the usual style in which the Indians addressed each other when sending a formal message from one to the other. It differed from the usual form of conversation. They called it "The Language of the Chiefs."

safety; that no strong drink should be brought near their settlement and that no drunkards should be allowed to disturb them; that no respectable Indians should be hindered from visiting their village; that they had nothing at all against their bringing teachers, in fact, it was taken for granted that these should come; and that no one should be prevented from going to the Christian village to hear the Word of God. Furthermore they wrote, that the best way to travel would be by water down the Muskingum and the Ohio, then up the Miami about a mile, and thence up the White Water Creek until they reached the portage, after that by land until they came to Woapicamikunk, their destination. The watchword for the wonderful day upon which the Delawares, by a formal national act, for the second time* gave their consent to having the gospel preached among them and even invited the Christian Indians and their teachers to come and live among them was: "My tabernacle also shall be with them; yea, I will be their God, and they shall be my people."

In February the following communication was forwarded to General John Gibson, Secretary of Indiana Territory, with the request that he should present and recommend it to the Governor:

To His Excellency William H. Harrison, Esq.,
Governor of Indiana Territory.

We, the undersigned, Missionaries of the Church of the United Brethren, at present resident at Goshen, a Christian Indian town, on the tract of land called Schoenbrunn, on the river Muskingum, humbly beg leave to present our best to Your Excellency and to inform You, that we purpose early in the ensuing Spring to accompany a small colony of Christian Indians from here and settle with them on a branch of the White River, whither we have been invited by a special message from

*The first time was in the beginning of the year 1772, when the Brethren received a kind message from the Chief and his Grand Council, inviting them and the two congregations at Friedenshuetten and Friedenstaedt to come and settle in their country, near the Muskingum River, upon whatever tract of land they might choose.

the chiefs and council of the Delaware Nation, whose principal towns are in that neighborhood.

The history and character of the missions which have been for many years carried on by the Church of the United Brethren among the Indians of this country, are probably not altogether unknown to Your Excellency. The grand objects thereof have been uniformly to preach the gospel to the Indians, to establish schools and inculcate habits of industry and sobriety among them, and to instruct them to live a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty; in the prosecution of which within the extensive Indiana Territory, we flatter ourselves that we may at all times rely on Your Excellency's friendly support and auspices.

We have been informed by a deputation of Indians who are just arrived here from White River, that traders from among the adjacent white settlers are in the habit of introducing spirituous liquors among the inhabitants there; a practice which we are persuaded you will agree with us, must not only greatly impede the objects of the mission, which we propose to undertake, but by exposing the Indians to fraud and imposition and embroiling them in quarrels, endangers the peace and friendship which happily subsists between them and the United States. The Chiefs of the Delawares who are well acquainted with our principles on this head, have offered us a place of settlement at the distance of fifteen miles from any of their towns, and have been pleased to make the voluntary promise, that they will do their utmost to prevent the bringing of spirituous liquors into or near our settlement, or our being molested by any drunken persons. They have, however, as is known, but little control over the white traders, who traverse the Indian country, and frequently take up their abode among them. We have therefore very humbly to request the favor of Your Excellency that You would be pleased, in such a manner as to Your wisdom may seem meet, to authorize and enable us, the subscribed and our successors, to prevent any spirituous liquors from being offered for sale or barter, or used as an enticement to trade, within a specified distance—say perhaps ten miles—of any town or settlement of Indians, that may be made under our direction, within the limits of Your jurisdiction. We have no desire to prevent any person

whatever from exercising a free commerce with the members of our Society: we wish merely to be serviable to our fellow-men by the furthering of good and preventing of mischief to them.

We have the honor to be very respectfully, Sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient servants,

(Signed) John Peter Kluge,
Abraham Luckenbach,

Goshen, Schoenbrunn Tract, Missionaries.
River Muskingum, 23rd of Febr., 1801.

After having spent a little over four months on the Muskingum, Brother and Sister Kluge and Brother Luckenbach resumed their journey westward, March 24, 1801. They were accompanied by the Christian Indians: John Thomas and his wife, Catherina, with their three children, Marcus, Juliana and Bethia; Jacob and Mary, his wife; the widower Joshua, with his son, Christian; the widow Abigail, with her daughter, Anna Salome, and her two grandchildren: therefore, thirteen persons in all. Two Indians, Ska and Michael, accompanied the party, to paddle the canoe for Brother and Sister Kluge. There were five canoes in all. Brother and Sister Mortimer, with their little son, went with them as far as Gnadenhuetten. The weather was still cold as they floated down the Muskingum. When about a half mile from Gnadenhuetten, the Indians announced the coming of the party by the firing of a number of gunshots. They arrived at noon.

After pleasant intercourse with the Brethren Huebener and Peters and their wives, the mission party continued its way down stream, passing Salem at two o'clock in the afternoon. Two miles farther on they encamped in the woods for the first time. The Indians shot ducks, geese, turkeys and other game enroute. At the Indian town of Goschachguenk,* they landed for a short time at the request of a white man who lived there. Leaving this place, they soon passed the site of the old mission at Lichtenau, which was thickly overgrown with bushes and hardly showed a sign of ever having been a station. At noon of the twenty-seventh

*The second capital of the Delawares in Ohio. It was where is now Coshocton on the Muskingum.

they took dinner at the mouth of Wills Creek, where they remained an hour. On the twenty-eighth they reached Licking, where they looked up the post office and Brother Kluge posted a number of letters addressed to friends in Bethlehem and Lititz.

On the thirty-first, at five o'clock in the afternoon, they landed about twenty miles from Marietta.* In the evening a number of white people visited them and brought the Indians milk and tobacco. At Marietta Mr. Gillman, a man of considerable importance, received them very kindly. Here they left the Muskingum and entered the beautiful waters of the Ohio River, on which they covered as high as sixty miles a day. Having engaged to support Michael and Ska, they stopped at a German settlement on the fourth of April and purchased some necessary provisions, which were plentiful and cheap. The next morning they held a short Easter service, after which they pushed forward and at noon passed Point Pleasant, near the Kauhawa Creek, a settlement formerly owned by a certain Colonel Lewis. They had a letter of introduction from Heckewelder to this man, but found that he had died some time before. Four miles farther on they passed a small French settlement in the midst of beautiful trees and gardens.

On the morning of the ninth, they left camp at six o'clock. The Indians had resolved to reach Sciota that day, and their ambition was realized at five o'clock in the afternoon. Two days later they caught sight of the Miami, and at eight o'clock the following evening they came to a small town called Columbia. Heckewelder had given them letters of introduction to two men living in this village. They presented them but did not receive much satisfaction. Neither of the two remembered Heckewelder very well and one of them wasted half an hour of precious time trying to decipher the letter, which proved that he was not any too well versed in the art of reading. At noon they reached the city of Cincinnati, but floated past for about a mile and there pitched their tents in the woods.

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*Marietta was the first town of white settlers in Ohio. It lies on the left bank of the Muskingum River. Here Major General Arthur St. Clair, the first Governor of Northwest Territory, took up his quarters. In this town, the first session of the general court of the new territory was held in 1788, and opened with prayer.

They found their way into the city the same day and providentially made the acquaintance of a merchant by the name of Ziegler.* Though they had no letter of introduction to this man, he treated them with the greatest kindness and, after he had learned their mission, offered to do anything in his power to be of service to them while they were in the city and after they had reached their destination. He had known the Moravians for a long time. He was also well acquainted with the White River country and could tell the missionaries a great deal about it that interested them. At his store they purchased a number of things, which he let them have at the lowest figure. After the most pleasant intercourse with this newly-found friend, they looked up High Judge Gillman, of Marietta, whose important office made it necessary for him to spend a great deal of time in Cincinnati. He greeted the brethren in the most cordial manner and, learning of their desire to make the acquaintance of the Governor, at once offered to introduce them the following day.

Next morning, at the appointed hour, Brother Luckenbach and Brother Kluge called at the place of Judge Gillman, but found him too busy to accompany them to the executive office. However he had made arrangements with Governor St. Clair to have them make the visit alone. Taking their letter of introduction, they called on the Governor, who gave them a hearty welcome and assured them at once that he would do all he could to help them. They told him of the needs of their Indian brethren, and, in turn, he immediately gave them an order on a certain merchant to provide the Indians with a barrel of flour and sixty-seven pounds of salt meat. The provisions were gratefully received and divided among the recipients. The courteous and kind-hearted Governor also gave the missionaries a letter directed to the Delaware Chiefs in which he bespoke for the brethren a kind reception, and admonished them and their people to receive the Word of God and be obedient to their Christian teachers, because they would then be happy not only in this life

*This was Captain David Ziegler, at one time connected with the Pennsylvania Infantry. Before coming to America, he served as a German soldier in the Russian army in the Crimea. He made the acquaintance of the Moravians at Herrnhut and Bethlehem. After serving in Indian campaigns in the West, he became a resident and the first Mayor of Cincinnatti.

but in the great hereafter. At parting, the Governor wished the missionaries God-speed and the Lord's richest blessing on their labors.

April fourteenth, at ten o'clock in the morning, beautiful Cincinnati was left behind. At noon they passed North Bend and, two hours later, reached the mouth of the Miami River. They found the current very swift and they had to use all their strength in battling against it. For about three miles the land was low. After that it rose higher and was dotted with many beautiful plantations. Six miles farther up stream they passed a fairly large island, and, a little later, there appeared a number of deer, of which the Indians shot five. Here, too, the Indian brethren did some angling and landed six large fish, which Brother Kluge pronounced to be of the carp variety. They were much larger than those he had seen in Europe, and their meat was tougher, too. Nevertheless they were good.

Next day before they struck camp, they manufactured seats for the canoes. This was necessary, because the current was strong and they could not make much headway without some such arrangement. When they came to the White Water Creek, they found its current even stronger than that of the Miami and six miles was all they could cover the first day they were on it. On the sixteenth, they had to spend the whole day in camp. In this vicinity John Thomas shot a big, fat bear, which he shared with the others. The meat tasted good after Sister Kluge had fried it. In this neighborhood they learned definitely how to reach their destination. The White River Indians came here to hunt, so that the inhabitants were well acquainted with them and their country. Here they also bought their cattle. The missionaries mentioning the fact that they intended to buy a cow later on, were strongly advised to purchase it here, because cows were high-priced in the Indian country, a very poor one bringing as much as forty dollars. This was good advice, as they found later on. A cow with a bell was therefore bought for thirteen dollars. Since it is no easy matter to drive one cow along a strange path, they decided to provide company and accordingly bought a young heifer together with her calf, for fourteen dollars. The heifer gave a great deal of milk, which

proved a blessing to the little colony, not only for the rest of the journey but after the new home was reached.

On the seventeenth, the journey was continued in three canoes, instead of five, two having been sold in order that the party might make more rapid progress. The missionaries and the Indian sisters drove the cows before them. In the evening they pitched their tents as usual. Here they were visited by white people, from whom they bought flour at two dollars and a half a hundred. The following evening they came to the home of an old Irish Presbyterian farmer by the name of Harper. This man treated them very kindly. He took care of the cows and gave the Indians milk and potatoes without charge. Here they were detained for four days on account of heavy rains and high water. Having been informed that a number of Indians had been encamped nearby in recent days, Jacob and Ska decided to look them up, but their quest proved fruitless. After their return, the whole party took counsel together and delegated John Thomas and Jacob to penetrate deeper into the woods and skirmish around for any Indian who might be sent to Woapicamikunk. The desired messenger was to announce to the Chiefs that the expected colony was near at hand, to tell them that it was impossible to proceed farther than twenty miles by water, and to remind them of their promise to provide horses for the land journey.

John Thomas and Jacob were successful in their efforts. After tramping through the woods for many miles, they heard the barking of dogs and in this way they were led to the camp of an Indian family from Woapicamikunk. They learned that they were a three days' journey, on horseback, from their destination. The father of the family expressed his willingness to act as messenger and to return after six days to report. The Indian brethren handed him a piece of tobacco bound with white ribbon and he left on his errand at once. Meanwhile the friendly white people of the neighborhood assisted the missionaries and their companions up-stream the remaining twenty miles. April twenty-fourth, at three o'clock in the afternoon, they at last reached the forks of the river, where Brookville now stands. Here the White Water Creek separates into two arms, the one from the west and the other from the north. Between these the

missionaries encamped on a stretch of land over which the trail to Woapicamikunk passed. In fact, their camp was quite near this trail. Here they were still one hundred miles from their proposed settlement.

Four days later, the messenger who had been sent to Woapicamikunk returned, but with no favorable report. He had come back without horses, because the Chiefs were not at home, having gone to Post Vincennes to attend a conference. The rest of the men had not returned yet from the chase. True to his trust, the messenger did the best that he could and sent the tobacco down the river to another town, though he did not think it would do much good, because the Indians there, too, would still be away on their hunting-grounds. This was discouraging news indeed. With the help of a riderless horse that had come out of the woods, the heathen family whom they had met having placed it at their disposal, they decided to push forward by slow stages. All things packed, they began their weary march. Brother Kluge carried the tinware on a stick, his wife carried a pail of milk, and Brother Luckenbach had his traveling bag slung over his shoulder. In this fashion they moved forward, driving the cows before them and encouraging one another.

They decided to send another messenger to Woapicamikunk, and, on May first, they commissioned John Thomas to undertake the journey. He had not gone more than a mile, however, before he was met by an Indian captain, the brother of Mary. In the absence of the Chiefs, he was to convey the baggage of the newcomers from the portage to their destination. He had been away from home when the former messenger arrived, but heard of the matter in the woods and had straightway come with four horses. Needless to say, the captain was warmly welcomed by the pilgrims and, in turn, he seemed pleased to see them. About this time the stray horse referred to before, was claimed by its owner. On the fifth of May Brother Luckenbach's birthday anniversary was celebrated. In honor of the event Sister Kluge had baked a cake the previous day. Though it was completely crushed on the journey, it had lost none of its flavor.

Days of rain made travel impossible. Ska was sent to Woapicamikunk for more horses, but unfortunately he became drunk and forgot his errand. It was very essential that they should

reach their new home soon, or they would miss the planting time. The season was far enough advanced even then. Brother Luckenbach and Wangomind, an old heathen Indian, volunteered to undertake the errand on which Ska had so grievously failed. Brother Luckenbach gives an interesting account of this excursion, in his autobiography. He writes: "Being lightly clad, and the blanket containing my provisions suspended by straps, like a knapsack from my shoulders, I followed my guide with rapid strides. Carrying his gun on his shoulder, with a string of dried venison dangling therefrom, and his knife and tomahawk at his side, he looked very pleasantly on me, did all that lay in his power to render himself agreeable to me, and appeared to value himself highly because of the confidence I placed in him as my guide.

"Supposing that I wished to reach the place of our destination as soon as possible, he ran along the Indian trail without stopping, passing knee-deep through all the bogs and ponds that he came across, which, owing to the late heavy rains, were filled with water. At first I looked out for fallen trees or other means to cross over them dry shod, but having several times lost sight of him, and being scarcely able to keep up with him, I grew wise by experience, and followed him, without regard to myself or my clothing, straight through mud and water. And he was highly rejoiced to find that I could now keep up with him, and had already profited so much by his example. Not being able to converse with me, and having a mind to stop, he pointed with his finger to the sun, to signify that the dinner hour had arrived. He then cut off several slices of his dried venison, and very kindly offered me one of them, which of course I did not refuse. I then presented a piece of my bread to him, which he accepted with loud applause. And so, after smoking a pipe together, we proceeded on our journey, which resulted in our obtaining the pack horses which we required."

As a matter of fact the latter part of the last sentence is not quite accurate. According to the diary he came back without any horses, but Jacob's brother-in-law brought six, with the intention, however, of rendering assistance to no one save his sister and her husband. At that rate the missionaries had no more help than before. Their troubles were increased by

drunken Indians, among the number Michael and Ska, who had been a great care all along on account of their weakness for drink. A drunken Indian followed the mission party and sold whisky to all who would buy. Soon Jacob's brother-in-law and Michael and Ska were hopelessly drunk and howled, all night long, like wild beasts. "He who never saw a drunken Indian," writes Brother Kluge, "cannot possibly imagine what it is like. It is as if he had been transformed into an evil spirit."

Part of the time the needs of the pilgrims were supplied by fish and game, but for days they had very little to eat. Sister Kluge was often at her wit's end, not knowing what to prepare for the hungry mouths that had to be fed somehow. On one occasion the Lord helped her in a rather remarkable manner. She had been in great perplexity over the noon-day meal, when an Indian girl came running out of the woods and brought her a number of eggs. These must have been laid by hens brought from Goshen or elsewhere at some previous time. Surely the Heavenly Father provided for His own.

On the seventeenth, they encamped on the hunting grounds of the Shawnee Indians. They found shelter in two log huts which had been loosely put together, Indian fashion. Here they conducted an Ascension Day service for the Indians, because it had not been possible to have it on the fourteenth, which was the festival day. The blessing of this service strengthened them all. In the evening, however, a dark cloud enshrouded them. The drunken Indians gave more trouble and actually imperilled the lives of the pilgrims. They took refuge in prayer. Brother Kluge writes in this connection: "We see quite plainly that the Evil One does all in his power to frustrate our object even before we reach our destination. There is nothing for us to do but to prove ourselves true Christian soldiers and cling to the Saviour, who through His death overcame the Enemy. We, therefore, renew our covenant with Him, promise Him to be faithful and, in patient trust, let nothing frighten us away from the hard task which He has given us to perform."

Forty miles from Woapicamikunk, John Thomas suggested that the rest of the party should push forward, while he and his family remain behind with the baggage until sent for. His suggestion was followed. On the way they had more trouble with

drunken Indians, one night being obliged to flee to the woods for their lives. They lay down on the ground under the open sky to rest, but not to sleep; the mosquitoes and the hideous noise of the Indians making that impossible. At last, on May twenty-first, they reached Woapicamikunk, at four o'clock in the afternoon. The sight that met them was not at all encouraging. The Indians were engaged in drinking and dancing and shouting. No wonder that the hearts of the poor missionaries were filled with sadness. To stop was out of the question, so they proceeded a mile farther and there pitched their tents. Here they were visited by a number of baptized Indian women, whom they invited to the mission to be established about twenty miles down the river.

Next day, Brother Luckenbach and Michael borrowed five horses from the Indians, and two more from a friend of John Thomas, with which they returned for the baggage which had been left behind, forty miles away. Meanwhile, Brother and Sister Kluge proceeded on their journey, driving the cows before them. At three o'clock in the afternoon they came to another Indian town. Here Tedpachsit and Hockingpomsga lived. They were received in the house of the latter and enjoyed Indian hospitality. Among the Indian delicacies served were pancakes made without eggs and fried in bear's grease. A very sweet sassafras tea quenched their thirst. The tired missionaries were hungry and the food and drink tasted good. Finally, on the twenty-fifth of May, they reached their destination. They were much encouraged by the text for the day: "If thou wilt walk in my statutes, and execute my judgments, and keep all my commandments to walk in them, then will I perform my word with thee."—I Kings VI:12. Five days later they were joined by Brother Luckenbach and John Thomas and his family.

CHAPTER IV

The Beginning of the Mission

At the time the missionaries began their labors among the Indians on the White River, Indiana was still a wilderness. Here and there on the banks of a river or on the shore of some lake, were the rude huts and wigwams of the natives. Few and far between were the habitations of the whites who had been bold enough to venture into the wilds. There were only five thousand white people in the territory, and these were widely scattered over the vast region now included in the States of Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin and Michigan. Even Vincennes, the oldest permanent white settlement in Indiana, was no more than a struggling village of about fifty houses. Fort Wayne was but seven years old and had few inhabitants. In addition to these two settlements, there were several small trading-posts. Though there were a number of French and English and a generous sprinkling of people from other states, most of the settlers had come from the Carolinas, where the poor white man was regarded as little better than a slave. There were no school-houses or schools of any kind. Without churches, the more devout would meet occasionally in private houses for public worship. In short, there were few traces of civilization anywhere.

To any one unacquainted with the conditions which confronted the missionaries, the question would naturally arise why the mission was established so near the Indian towns. It would have been better for the little congregation had it been farther removed from heathen vice and degradation. No one realized this more strongly than the missionaries themselves. Before they left Goshen, Zeisberger had advised them to settle at least ten miles away from the nearest heathen village and they fully intended to do so. But, unfortunately, conditions were contrary to their expectations.

In the first place, the Indian Chiefs designated the exact place where they wanted the Christian town, so that the missionaries really had little or no choice in the matter of location. At the

place assigned, the Indians pledged them their protection, promising faithfully that no whisky should be brought to the station and that no drunken Indian should be allowed to molest them. At the same time, they made it very plain that they would do nothing for them should they decide to locate elsewhere. Nevertheless, the little band of Christians did not submit at once to the inevitable. For a whole week they looked around for a suitable site, other than the one indicated, deciding first on one and then on another, but in the end they came back to the place which the Chiefs had pointed out.

This place was two or three miles east of the present site of Anderson. It is reasonably sure that this was the exact location of the mission station. According to the mission diary, the Christian village was situated on the east bank of the White River, about twenty miles below Woapicamikunk, and three miles from the point where the stream makes the big bend, which caused the much traveled Indian road that led along the river, to go straight through the woods. Otherwise the road would have passed through the mission settlement. It was but three miles away, as it was. The river-bend referred to must have been the one above Anderson. These facts verify tradition. In this neighborhood the early settlers of 1821 found a well-preserved house, which was undoubtedly the one erected by the missionaries. They also discovered the remains of a large Indian village not far away. This village must have been Woapimintschi, "the place where the chestnut trees grow," which lay on a small stream that flowed into the White River, three or four miles from the station. Relatives of a man named John Allen, who lived on the bank of the river opposite this village, are said to have heard him tell of frequent visits to the Indians and of missionaries who worked among them.

All things considered, the site of the mission was the best that could be found under the circumstances. Had the missionaries located on the well-traveled road which connected the Indian villages, whisky and all sorts of undesirable Indians would have passed through their settlement. The station was eight miles from the nearest Indian town in one direction, and four miles in the other. Though the proximity of the heathen proved a detriment to the Christian Indians, a few miles more or less would

have made no difference. Those who had a weakness for drink preferred to go to the towns farthest removed from home for the indulgence of their craving, in this way hoping the better to avoid detection.

The actual work of getting settled had not proceeded very far before the little flock were honored by a visit from Tedpachsit and Pachgantschihilas. This was on the twenty-seventh of June. The two Chiefs were rather old and quite venerable looking. Both wore broad blue belts, a silver ring as a collar around the neck, and carried in their hands a turkey wing to chase away the flies. The missionaries had no houses as yet, but the Chiefs, having intimated their desire to stay over night, had to be accommodated somehow, so the tent of Jacob was placed at their disposal. While partaking of supper, they showed all their important papers and treaties made with white people. These documents they always carried with them wherever they went.

They expressed their joy and gratitude over the coming of the Christian Indians and their teachers. They also related that, not long since, they had received a message from the English, saying that in August the Chiefs of all the Indian nations should gather at the lake; that a great man had arrived from England, who called them his children and who would like to know them all. After the meal was over, Brother Kluge addressed those present, Joshua acting as interpreter. The message of God's love for sinners and the earnest invitation to accept the gospel was received with great interest. In fact, so attentive was Pachgantschihilas to the preaching of the Word that he took his long, drooping ear-lobe into his mouth. This was quite possible, because the Indians were in the habit of splitting their ear-lobes and ornamenting them with silver rings. To the rings they attached pieces of lead which naturally drew down the lobes until they could readily be put into the mouth. When the lobe was split, as in the present instance, it hung down to the shoulder like a huge worm. After the service the Chiefs expressed their appreciation of what they had heard about God.

The next day they presented papers, which they had received from the white people, and respectfully requested one of the missionaries to read them. This Brother Luckenbach did gladly

and Joshua translated them. After this was over, Joshua handed the Chiefs a string of wampum, in the name of the missionaries and Christian Indians, and at the same time delivered the following words: "You called us to this place with the Word of God and we accepted the invitation. We thank God for our safe arrival. We sincerely trust that you will keep your promise and allow no one to molest us; that you will permit no whisky nor drunken persons to come to or near the station; and that you will never call upon us to enter into a treaty nor ask us to accompany you to war. We desire to live among you in peace, in order that we may preach the Word of God and that you may hear it."

In answer to these words, Pachgantschihilas gave the assurance that the Christian Indians had been called for no other purpose than to preach the gospel, and that they might have a share in the enjoyment of the land on both sides of the river, which the Delawares had received from the Seven Nations. "We wanted you and your teachers to come," he declared, "and you may rest assured that no one will be permitted to molest or hinder you in your work. We will prevent none of our people from coming to you to hear the Word of God, yea, we will rather encourage them to do so. It will be a pleasure to us if a great many Indians will move to your village. Evermore do we want to live together in love and peace." To all this Tedpachsit gave his hearty endorsement.

However much the sincerity of these words may be doubted as coming from the lips of Pachgantschihilas, it is quite probable that they expressed the true sentiments of the peaceful Tedpachsit. Soon after the meeting with the missionaries and their little flock, he invited all his young people to a feast and addressed them as follows: "My Children! You see how old I am and how gray my hair is. Still I am not on the right path, as the Great Spirit would have me be. Often have we admonished you not to drink and be drunken, and that you should do no evil. All to no avail. We, the Chiefs, remained unchanged. We have learned, however, that it is largely due to our example that you are what you are. Any one who desires to change his life, I now tell you, may go to the Christians and hear the Word of God. I, too, have heard it and found it to be the truth. Any one who

desires to move to the Christians is at liberty to do so. You must not only be satisfied to hear the great Word but you must strive to live accordingly." Though Tedpachsit never became a Christian, his words breathe a beautiful spirit and show that he really had the best interests of his people at heart.

In spite of the Chiefs' assurances of friendship and interest, the missionaries soon learned that they were doing all in their power to prevent their people from becoming Christians and from moving to the Christian settlement. They were undoubtedly afraid that they would lose influence with the Indians, and that their dignity would suffer, should too many of them adopt the Christian faith. Moreover, they were not a little displeased over the fact that so few of the Goshen Indians had responded to their invitation, after they had made it plain that they desired all of them to come to the White River. They reproached the Christian Indians for it whenever they had the opportunity. They had been especially anxious to have the White Eyes and Kilbuck families come to them. It is not likely that old Tedpachsit shared this feeling or joined in the persecution.

Meanwhile, the missionaries were in the midst of toil to which they were wholly unaccustomed. Twenty acres of land had been set aside for the Christian congregation. Of these the missionaries had an acre and a half for their own use. The season for planting was far advanced and a day's delay meant much, so they immediately began to clear the ground with the greatest possible haste and prepared the way for the harvest which might still be possible. Under the scorching rays of the sun, they wielded the scythe and the spade, with badly blistered hands they sowed the seed and planted the vegetables, and in the end God honored their faith and their toil with a far more abundant harvest than they had anticipated under the circumstances. The corn did not yield a very large return, but by fall they had over six bushels of potatoes, almost as many bushels of turnips, over a hundred heads of cabbage, besides pickles, beans, beets, carrots and other vegetables, surely a goodly store to tide them over the barren months of winter.

The missionaries did not regard the ground as particularly rich, but this may have been due to the fact that all that they

grew had to be raised on virgin soil. Considering the inadequate implements with which they had to prepare the ground, their harvest returns, in favorable seasons, were as good as could be expected. Watermelons that weighed as much as fourteen pounds, and marsh melons that were equally heavy, grew in abundance. Garden vegetables, corn and other cereals, yielded a satisfactory crop. One year the missionaries raised on their acre and a half, among other things, sixty-five bushels of corn, twelve bushels of potatoes and about three good wagon-loads of pumpkins. The prairie furnished abundant pasture and hay they could have in any quantity needed. Blackberries grew in profusion. These served as a useful article of food for white man and savage. The Indians dried them in large quantities and stored them away for the winter season, when they baked them in corn meal. This they regarded a great delicacy. The missionaries, in their own way, likewise made good use of the berries.

Near the station was a large tract of woodland. Here and elsewhere in the neighborhood grew the chestnut, oak, walnut, poplar, linden, maple, wild crab-apple, plum and other varieties of trees. Sugar-making from the sap of the maple tree was an important industry among the Indians. The missionaries likewise made large quantities of sugar, two good pailsful of the sap making one pound of the finished product. There were a great many snakes around, the black snake and the deadly rattler being among the number. One time a rattle snake bit the horse of the missionaries while it was grazing on the prairie. The jaw became greatly swollen and inflamed, and if it had not been for an old Cherokee Indian, who concocted a remedy, the horse would have died.

Wild animals were plentiful. Among these were the bear, wolf, panther, wild cat, deer, beaver, otter, raccoon and a variety of others. It was not at all unusual for an Indian to kill as many as ten bears a day. Not having the necessary means of transportation at his command, he would take as much of the meat as he could conveniently carry and leave the rest to decay or to the wild beasts of the forest. The skins, however, were never left behind. These were valuable. A bear-skin was worth from a dollar and a half to two dollars, and a pound of bear's hair

brought a dollar. The pelts of some other animals were worth much more. For example, an otter-skin would bring five dollars. Any pelt worth selling at all brought a dollar, because the Indian would ask that much for anything that he had to put on the market. This was due to the fact, no doubt, that for everything he purchased from the traders, he had to pay a high price. Joshua and Jacob, being too old for the chase, engaged considerably in trapping. Wolves were exceedingly plentiful and, in consequence, a source of great annoyance. Because one of the tribes bore the name of the wolf, this animal enjoyed the special protection of the Indian.

The agricultural pursuits of the missionaries were only a part of their strenuous activities. Trees had to be felled and shelter provided for themselves and their Indian charge. At first they lived in a miserable hut, good enough for dry weather, but wholly inadequate when it rained. Later they put up temporary shelter to protect them from the rain and the sun, and then one house after the other was erected until all were provided for. By the last day of October, the first permanent house was finished and Brother Kluge and his wife immediately moved into it. The greater part of this work the missionaries had to do alone. Several French traders rendered some assistance. The work of the Indian brethren amounted to very little. Instead of being a help, they were rather a hindrance.

Under date of August 31, 1801, the diary contains the following significant record: "Assisted by the three Indian brethren, we were busily engaged in putting up the last logs of Brother Kluge's house. Things go slowly. We must board our few Indian brethren for the little work which they do. They spend more time eating than working, and even then grumble that they have to assist us in our building operations." They were old and indolent, depending on the missionaries for much that they should have done themselves. Even in the most fruitful years, their harvest returns were meager, simply because the planting and the cultivation of corn required too much exertion to suit their taste and inclination. But the Lord was with the missionaries and surely each had the strength of ten. In a little more than half a year, the high hill on which the mission was located had a chapel or assembly hut, two other huts and seven

well-built log houses. The first service in the chapel was held January 19, 1802.

The following year new farm labors awaited them. The horses and the cattle belonging to the savages roamed about at will, therefore it was essential to have fences around the mission property. Again the axe had to be shouldered, trees felled and many hundreds of rails split for the protection of the crops. In this connection, the Indian brethren had to be assisted again, or their fields would have been without fences. It was the part of wisdom to help them, because they depended on the missionaries for corn and other articles of food, as soon as their own supply was exhausted. In spite of the tremendously hard manual work that simply had to be done, if they did not want to starve, the missionaries were untiring in their zeal to witness for Christ. Every opportunity was embraced to preach the gospel to the Indians already in their charge, as well as to those who visited the station from time to time.

After their long day's hard toil on the field or in the woods—often there was barely enough time or strength left for a change of garment before the evening service—a daily religious meeting was held, unless prevented by the absence of Joshua, the interpreter, who was frequently away from home on business or was for other reasons temporarily unfitted for the task. Hard as this unceasing toil was for the men, it must have been harder still for Sister Kluge. She was the only white woman for miles around and she had little or no assistance from the Indians. And in addition to all her strenuous labor, she became the mother of three children during her stay on the White River. Karl Friedrich, her first-born, enjoyed the distinction of being the first white child to be born in what is now Madison County, Indiana. He was born July 21, 1801; his sister, Henrietta, September 1, 1803, and John Henry, December 31, 1805.

With little added expense to the church in whose interests they labored, the missionaries might have saved themselves a great deal of toil, but not for a moment would they have thought of incurring it. A sentence or two from one of Brother Kluge's letters gives evidence of their self-sacrificing spirit. After drawing the sum of fifty dollars, which barely covered their most urgent needs, he wrote apparently in apologetic de-

fense of what he feared the authorities might regard an extravagance: "We would have drawn a smaller amount, if it had been at all possible. The journey to Cincinnati is expensive. We have no horse of our own and we cannot hire one for less than a dollar a day. But I assure you, we do our utmost to save the mission money and, in consequence, do all the heavy work ourselves." Later on, they had a horse of their own.

But hard toil was not the only thing which depleted their strength. Very often they did not have enough to eat. Especially was this the case the first summer, when for a long time they largely depended for sustenance on corn-meal and milk. They passed one whole winter without any flour in the house, the snow being too deep and the weather too cold for traders to come around. At such times they crushed the corn as well as they could, and baked from the meal some sort of bread. Frequently, they suffered because their crops had been damaged by drought or flood. Flour was expensive, costing from four to eight dollars a hundred. Though game was plentiful, they were often without meat.

Missionaries and Indians suffered a great deal from sickness. The country was new and bilious fever was common. Sometimes the three missionaries were afflicted with it at the same time, but, for the most part, one or the other happened to be up and about, while the other two were prostrated. Naturally the fevers greatly reduced their strength and eventually weakened their constitution. The periodic sickness was especially hard on Brother Kluge, who was at no time any too rugged in health. Miles away from civilization, there was no physician within reach. The only remedies they could apply were the few that they had at their own disposal. They hardly felt like resorting to the means that an Indian and his wife employed while the latter was afflicted with a severe attack of bilious fever. She suffered from extreme nausea and naturally had no desire to eat anything at all. They came to the missionaries to buy a pig so that the sick woman might eat her fill of pork. Both were of the opinion that this would surely effect a cure. The missionaries remonstrated, but in vain. What the woman needed was a strong emetic, but the Indians were insistent, and they would not rest content, until they had purchased the pig. They took

it away and no doubt prepared a generous dose for the poor, suffering woman. The sequel may be readily imagined.

The extreme loneliness of the situation can hardly be realized. It must have been overpowering at times and almost more than they could endure. Nothing but the grace of God could sustain them under such discouraging circumstances. Far away from the most ordinary comforts of civilized life, surrounded by degraded and bestial savages, in the midst of a great wilderness, with none of their kind within easy reach, under the constant strain of hard manual labor and of unceasing activities in the earnest endeavor to win the savages for the better life, with worry and discouragement as their daily portion, the faithful witnesses had little to cheer or to comfort them.

Their only contact with the outside world was through the traders, correspondence with friends and loved ones in the distance, and an occasional trip to Cincinnati, a hundred and twenty-five miles away. These journeys Brother Luckenbach, being the younger and without family cares, made two or three times a year. He would as a rule travel alone and on horseback. The Lord was his protection; in consequence, he was never molested. In his autobiography he wrote concerning these journeys: "During the inclement season I generally carried a small tent with me, which I would pitch in front of a fallen tree, and then keep up a large fire during the night, while reposing my weary limbs on a blanket spread out on the ground, my saddle serving me as a pillow. My greatest concern was my horse, whom I had to allow sufficient liberty to enable him to seek his food in the vicinity, because I was continually in danger of losing him, or myself, in the woods.

"The object of my journey being known, namely, that I expected to return with a supply of funds, well-meaning people would sometimes advise me not to travel unarmed and alone through the dense forest, for fear of being maltreated or robbed by wicked borderers living among the white people. But I invariably replied that since the Lord had thus far held his protecting hand over me, I felt confident that He would continue to do so; and, if He should withdraw it, I did not believe that any fire-arms would be likely to save me." For months at a time the missionaries were shut off from all save the Indians about them.

Their letters they would get through the traders or Indian couriers or when Brother Luckenbach or some of the Indian brethren went to Cincinnati. Fortunately, the three white missionaries were the most congenial friends, and, in their mutual regard for one another, they found a constant source of encouragement amid their many trials.

CHAPTER V

Difficulties in the Way of Success

The endeavor to evangelize the White River Indians was attended with such insuperable difficuities that even the stoutest heart might well have been filled with discouragement. At that time the mission could not succeed; from the very beginning the work was doomed to failure. This was in no way the fault of the missionaries. Had the success of the enterprise depended upon them, their loyal witness for Christ, their unselfish devotion and indefatigable labor would have assured it, and every Indian would have been saved. But a great many untoward circumstances conspired against the cause of the Lord and contributed to the defeat of the consecrated missionaries.

At that time, the attitude of the Indian toward the white man in general was one of suspicion and distrust. And that not without reason. The Indian may have been wily and treacherous and guilty of worse traits and offenses, but it cannot be denied that he had been shamefully treated, and, perhaps, largely made what he was by the avaricious whites. He was driven westward at the point of the sword. Hardly had he settled in one place, when he had to flee to another. His hunting-grounds constantly became more restricted; it took no prophetic vision to see that very soon these would be lost to him altogether.

Fourteen years before the little congregation of Moravian Indians began its precarious existence on the White River, Major-General Arthur St. Clair was appointed Governor of the newly-organized Northwestern Territory. His instructions were to effect the extinguishment of all Indian titles to the land. To Major Hamtrank, the commandant stationed at Vincennes, was entrusted the task of ascertaining the temper of the Indians. He found that most of the Chiefs were dissatisfied with the policy of the Americans and greatly prejudiced against them through English misrepresentations. When St. Clair received this report, he concluded that there was no prospect of effecting a general peace with the Indians. He decided to subdue them by

force. To this end, General Harmer, with 1450 men under his command, went out to meet the hostile savages. His expedition proved a failure. Although the Indians were severely punished, they declined to sue for peace. Their hostilities continued. Next Brigadier-General Scott conducted 800 mounted men against the Indians, but apart from destroying a number of villages and killing thirty-two warriors, not much was accomplished.

Congress now decided to make a determined effort to crush the Indians. Provision was made for raising and equipping a regiment for the protection of the frontiers and overcoming the stubborn resistance of the enemy. St. Clair took command of 3000 troops which he was to employ against the savages in the territory over which his administration extended. Before he began his campaign, he sent Brigadier-General Wilkinson, with 500 men, to subdue the redskins who lived on the Wabash. This resulted in considerable damage to the Indians, but the white man gained no advantage. The savages became more incensed against the Americans. They realized more than ever before that the United States aimed to drive them out entirely. Impelled by a mingled feeling of fear and revenge, it is not surprising that their hostilities increased and that their resistance became all the stronger. In this they were actively supported by the British. Contrary to the treaty of peace made in 1783, the English were still supporting garrisons at Detroit, Niagara and Michilimackinac, and furnishing the Indian tribes with clothing, provisions and ammunition. Not until the treaty of 1796 did the British withdraw from the country, after which these annoyances ceased.

On November 3, 1791, St. Clair, with a force of about 2000 men, encamped at the headwaters of the Wabash. A few miles distant about 1200 Indian warriors lay in readiness to make an attack as soon as a favorable opportunity should afford itself. The Indians were under the command of Little Turtle, Blue Jacket and Pachgantschihilas. The following morning, a short time before the sun gilded the eastern sky, hostilities began. It was a hard-fought battle and resulted in a crushing defeat to the Americans. St. Clair lost 39 officers and 539 men; 22 of his officers and 132 of his other men were wounded. Dillon, in his "History of Indiana," refers to this defeat in these words:

"With the army of St. Clair, following the fortunes of their husbands, there were more than one hundred women. Very few escaped the carnage of the fourth of November, and after the flight of the remnant of the army, the Indians began to avenge their real and imaginary wrongs by perpetrating the most horrible acts of cruelty and brutality upon the bodies of the living and dead Americans who fell into their hands. Believing that the whites for many years made war merely to acquire land, the Indians crammed clay and sand into the eyes and down the throats of the dying and the dead."

St. Clair resigned his command and Anthony Wayne, of Revolutionary fame, succeeded him. In August, 1794, the Americans, under their new commander, gained a decisive victory over the Indians at the foot of the rapids of the Maumee. A year later, Wayne succeeded in concluding a treaty of peace with all the hostile tribes who inhabited the territory of the United States lying northwest of the Ohio River. The Indians had now been forced to surrender all their lands to the whites, with the exception of those within the present limits of Indiana.

At last the redskins were subdued, but deep down in their hearts burned the raging desire that the day of vengeance might dawn soon. Most of them at heart hated the avaricious whites with a deadly hatred. Needless to say, it made little or no difference to the Indians whether the pale-face happened to be a colonist or a missionary. The inrush of settlers filled them with dark forebodings. The sound of the pioneer's axe fell ominously upon the ears of the savages. Their leading spirits had long dreamed dreams, but hitherto they had been unsuccessful in their efforts to drive out the hated whites. They were now convinced that nothing but the great confederacy of all the tribes, dreamed of by Teedyuscung* more than half a century before

*Teedyuscung was the son of the noted Delaware Chief called old Captain Harris. When the Moravian pioneers came to Nazareth, in 1740, this Indian and his people were living nearby in a village called Welagameka. He hated the English and his proud spirit smarted under the indignities put upon his tribe. After much hesitation on the part of the Moravian Brethren, Teedyuscung was baptized by Bishop Cammerhoff, March 19, 1750, at Gnadenhuetten on the Mahoning. In his "History of Bethlehem," Bishop Levering makes the following reference to this bap-

their time, could accomplish their purpose. Messengers were sent out in all directions and tribes invited to join the movement. All the Indians were to gather on the White River before the great blow should be struck.

In January of the same year that the missionaries began their labors, William Henry Harrison took his seat at Vincennes as Governor of Indiana Territory.* Congress had instructed him to do all in his power to promote peace and harmony among the different tribes of northwestern Indians, to induce them, if possible, to abandon their mode of living and to engage in the practice of agriculture and other pursuits of civilized life. He was empowered to negotiate treaties between the United States and the Indian tribes, and to extinguish by such treaties the Indian title to lands within the boundaries of the territory. He found

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tism: "His position among the Indians, his commanding personality, his tribal and family pretentions, and his previous character as a reckless man who gloried in his contempt of all restraints and of the opinion of others in reference to his conduct, served to render the occasion a peculiarly impressive one for the Indian congregation." He received the name Gideon. Teedyuscung endeavored to restore the prestige of the Delawares and to unite the Indians against the whites. He sought to form an alliance and to attract unto himself both the heathen and Christian Indians, When he failed in his attempt to draw the Moravian Indians away from the mission, he tried to get the Government to force them to his side. He represented these Indians as being held prisoners against their wishes by the Moravians, and intimated that the Government would do a good service by aiding him in liberating his people. He was the universally feared leader in many murderous raids against the whites and the Moravians suffered much at his hands. The winter of 1757-58 he spent in a little cabin in what is now South Bethlehem. Here he was visited by many Indians from all over the country, but either the time was not ripe for it or he was not great enough to carry out his cherished scheme of forming an alliance. At all events nothing ever came of it. In the spring of 1758, he and his Indians removed to Wyoming, where the wily schemer, whom no man could tame or subdue, came to a horrible death. Lying in a drunken stupor on his cabin-floor, fire broke out and he was burned to death. Teedyuscung cannot be compared with the great Tecumseh. His motives were altogether selfish even in his pretended endeavor to restore Delaware prestige.

*Indiana Territory comprised that portion of Northwest Territory which lay west and north of the Ohio River. It was organized in 1800. Vincennes was the capital until 1813.

the Indians suspicious and out of temper, so that the task laid upon him was no easy one.

But the Governor was better prepared for his duties than were the missionaries for their difficult work. Not only was he a man of great executive ability, sound judgment and kindliness of spirit, but his training and his past experience were such as to fit him for the position which he filled with so much credit to himself and benefit to the nation. The Indian was no stranger to him, neither was he a stranger in the land to which he had come. As an aide-de-camp on the staff of General Wayne, he had taken part in the decisive conflict against the Indians on the Maumee. He had also been active in other engagements against them. Before his election to Congress he was the Secretary of the Northwestern Territory. He was therefore thoroughly acquainted with the Indian country. The rights and wrongs of the natives were known to him, and above all he understood Indian nature. At heart, he was the friend of the red man. It is therefore not surprising that he achieved such conspicuous success in his many difficult undertakings.

To say that the missionaries were not as well fitted for their trying work among the Indians, is to reflect no discredit on them. Neither does it detract the least from the service which they did render. At the same time, their lack of qualification and preparation proved a hindrance to the success of the mission. Brother Luckenbach was but twenty-three years old, and by his own confession, more or less of unsettled conviction. Though his whole after-life mark him as a man of the most self-sacrificing devotion to the Lord, his previous life and his experience as teacher at Nazareth Hall contributed little or nothing toward preparing him for the exceedingly difficult work among the White River Indians. Brother Kluge was no better fitted for the task. Under the guidance of an experienced head, he might have accomplished a great deal, but left to himself he showed that he lacked the gift of leadership. No one could question his sincerity of purpose for a moment, but he was not the kind of man who would impress the Indians. The utter loneliness of the situation, the extreme difficulty of the work, and the drunkenness of the Indians make one shiver, but many a man would have made the best of things. This Brother Kluge could not do very

well. He had not been on the field long before he decided that nothing could be accomplished, or, in justice to him, he may have realized that he was not the man for the place. At least, he begged the Helpers' Conference to be returned to civilized life. Unused to the hard toil of the pioneer, he complained about it to his superiors at Bethlehem and to the Christian Indians as well, trying to impress the latter on every conceivable occasion that they should do the work for him. When the Indians fell into sin, he talked to them in words that were perfectly true, but they were unintelligible to the poor sinner, who needed a loving arm around him to inspire him with confidence and strength for the future.

That the White River Indians shared in the general feeling of distrust and hatred of the whites was evident to the missionaries from the first. The brutal Gnadenhuetten massacre was still fresh in their minds. The strong suspicion prevailed that Kluge and Luckenbach had come to make them "tame," as they believed had been done on the Muskingum, and that, after this had been accomplished, they would give the signal to the whites, who would be only too glad to come and kill them. Numerous instances might be given to show how widespread this erroneous belief was. In January of the mission's second year, a young Delaware who had been baptized by the Brethren in Ohio but who had lapsed into heathenism again, came to the station. Asked whether there was any desire on the part of the Indians, as far as he knew, to hear the Word of God, he answered that there was none. He then told of an old baptized woman living among the heathen, who constantly admonished them not to be deceived, because all that the missionaries wanted was to tame them preparatory to another massacre.

After more than two months, the young man went away, giving the following reason for doing so: "I cannot forget how many of my friends were massacred in Gnadenhuetten. I believe, as do all the Indians, that the missionaries were to blame, for they called the brutal whites when the time had come. It will be the same way here. After the missionaries have gathered a great many Indians together, the whites will be called to destroy them. I want to leave here, therefore, before I become tame." In this connection Brother Kluge wrote: "This foolish

talk we have to hear constantly. It seems as if Satan tried in this way to keep the poor heathen in his power."

That the Indians really entertained such fears cannot be doubted. They fully expected a repetition of bloodshed. The slightest rumor that the time for it had come would arouse the most intense excitement among them. Such was the case, the third of August, 1803, when a report was circulated that the Chiefs had received a declaration of war. Feeling ran high in all the Indian towns. The whole matter proved to be a farce, but while it was going on, it was serious enough. A great many Indians fled to the woods, while others prepared for war to the knife. The Christian Indians were likewise possessed with fear and earnestly inquired of the missionaries whether they, too, should flee. They were afraid that they would fare like their friends on the Muskingum. They were advised to pack their belongings and to keep themselves in readiness, so that they might make their escape at a moment's notice, should the occasion for it actually arise. Meanwhile the missionaries were anything but cheered as they heard the savages practise their blood-curdling war-songs.

While the excitement was at its height, the heathen daughter of a recently baptized invalid woman named Elizabeth, came at full speed to the mission with a horse, for the purpose of taking her sick mother to a place of safety. She laid Elizabeth full length on the back of the horse, bound her limbs to its neck and the arms to the hind legs, and then fastened a stout strap around the middle. This done, she hurried off with her precious burden. But she had not proceeded more than a quarter of a mile before the unfortunate mother had fallen from the horse, not once but a number of times. The good intention of the attempted rescue had to be abandoned, the invalid pleading that she would rather die than be thus tortured. The thongs had torn her skin badly and her body was severely bruised by the adventure. Several days later, some Indians who returned from the chase, denied the rumor of war and the excitement gradually died away. At another time, a report was circulated that the white people would come in two years to destroy all the Indians who could not escape, and then take possession of their land.

The longer the missionaries stayed, the more evident it be-

came to them that they had not been wanted in the first place. They were not allowed to forget that the Christian Indians, and not they, were the ones who had been called. Even the Indian brethren, while in temporary disgrace on account of some gross inconsistency, reminded them of this. Not very long after their arrival, a report was circulated by the young Indians, who were opposed to the gospel, that the Chiefs had advised their people not to listen to the missionaries nor to have anything to do with them, because they had not been invited to come; furthermore, that the Governor in Philadelphia* had assured them that the Word of God was for the whites, and not for Indians, therefore they should drive the Christian teachers away. Tired of these persistent rumors, the missionaries sent word to the Chiefs, demanding an explanation. In answer to this, they were told not to give ear to such lying reports; of course, the Chiefs wanted them, even as they had assured them when they came. But their assurances were not to be trusted. For the time being the missionaries were silenced, but they were far from convinced that the Indians meant what they said.

The question arises, why did the Delawares call the Christian Indians and their teachers, if they did not want them? The answer is not difficult to find. Brother Kluge writes: "The reason why the Indian Chiefs invited us to come to them is perfectly plain to us. Their desire is to attract to themselves as many Indians as they can, in order to make a strong outward appearance. For the Word of God, they care nothing at all. Because they know that the Christian Indians do not move anywhere without their teachers, they make all sorts of flattering promises, but they have no idea of keeping them." This was undoubtedly true. But, at the bottom of it all, there was a great deal more than the mere desire for vain show. It is quite certain that the Delaware Chiefs shared in the desire to unite all the scattered Indian tribes in a strong alliance against the whites.

It would not be reasonable to suppose that the talented

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*By act of Congress the national capital was established at Philadelphia from 1790-1800. In 1800 it was permanently located at the city of Washington.

Tecumseh,* with his overwhelming ambition to form a great Indian confederacy, could dwell among the Delawares as long as he did, without firing them with the same enthusiasm which burned in his own heart. To accomplish this must have been a comparatively easy matter. At the time, the Delawares were greatly dissatisfied and frequently complained to Governor Harrison concerning the encroachments of the white people upon the lands which rightfully belonged to the Indians, and concerning the invasion of their hunting-grounds and the un-

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*In 1798, the Delaware Indians who lived on the White River invited Tecumseh and his followers to move to them. The invitation was accepted and for a number of years he had his headquarters in one of the Delaware towns, following the life of a hunter, but, at the same time, seeking to extend his influence among the Indians. He made no secret of his ambition to form an Indian confederacy or league against the whites, with the object of driving them out of the country which lay northwest of the Ohio River and that to the south of it below the mouth of the Cumberland. In the Colonial History of Vincennes, Judge Law says: "The principle with which Tecumseh started out was this: that the Great Spirit had created the distinction between the paleface and the aborigines of the country, with a view of keeping them separate as two distinct races. To the Indians He had given the great West. Here He had established their hunting-grounds..... The Indians never were, and never would be fitted for agriculture. They were warriors and hunters. The consequences must be that there could be no fraternization, no affiliation with the white man. He further maintained, that when the white man came he was an interloper, a trespasser on their rights, an intruder on their soil, and must be expelled....; that it was a death-struggle between the white man and the red, and that now while the whites were sparse in population, weak in numbers, and wanting in strength, was the time to strike the blow, and, if possible, to exterminate the race..... Another principle which he advocated was, that the Great Spirit had given the Indians all their lands in common, to be held by them as such, and not by the various tribes who had settled on portions of it, claiming it as their own; that they were squatters, having no preemption rights, but holding even that on which they lived as mere 'tenants' in common with all the other tribes; that this mere possession gave them no title to convey the land without the consent of all; that no single tribe had the right to sell; that the power to sell was not vested in their Chief, but must be the act of the warriors, in council assembled, of all the tribes, as the land belonged to all, and no portion of it to any single tribe. Hence in all councils which he held with the whites, he uniformly refused, as did his tribe, until after his death, to acknowledge the validity of any treaty made between the Indians and the Government,

justifiable killing of their people. Not to them, but to his superiors, the Governor had to confess that the complaints of the Indians were far from groundless.

It is quite reasonable to suppose that the idea of forming a confederacy was the underlying motive which gave rise to the invitation of the Delawares to the Goshen Indians. Similar invitations were sent out in all directions. Under date of December 18, 1801, the following interesting item is recorded in the mission diary: "We heard that one Indian troop after the other, from far distant places, had arrived in answer to an invitation of the Chiefs, who had sent out messengers, inviting Indians everywhere to gather at the White River, so that all might live on Indian lands and far away from the white people." That other Christian Indians beside those from Goshen, were invited to come to the White River, is seen from an interesting letter* written by the Reverend John Sergeant, a missionary and teacher among the Stockbridge Indians for twenty-five years. "In 1802," he writes, "a council was held at Wappecommehkoke, on the banks of the White River by Delawares and the delegates of the Moheakunnuk (Stockbridge) nation. The former then accepted all the proposals made by the latter, among which was civilization, of which, said the Chief, 'we take hold with both hands.' In the meantime he declared his dependence on his grandchildren; that is, that we should either teach them ourselves, or lead a white man by the hand, whom we know to be a good, honest man, to instruct them; that they were desirous that it should take place before they die. The speaker was named Tatepahosect, a principal sachem of the Delaware nation, and his head warrior, named Pokenchilah." Nothing ever came of the matter and the projected mission was never established.

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utterly denying the power of one or more tribes of Indians to convey the land which they occupied without the consent of all." Tecumseh belonged to the Shawnee tribe. He was born, in 1775, near the present site of Springfield, Ohio. His father was a Shawnee warrior, and his mother a Creek or Cherokee squaw captured and adopted by the Shawnees. He was about thirty-five years old when he formed his plan for a great confederacy. He was killed in the battle on the Thames, in 1813. According to a Canadian historian, it is quite conceivable that the Americans would have conquered Canada, if it had not been for this brilliant warrior.

*From Morse's "Report on Indian Affairs," Appendix, p. 109-110.

If one recalls the purpose for which the Chiefs had invited the Goshen Indians to come to Indiana, it is not difficult to imagine the feeling of disgust that must have filled the heart of the sturdy warrior Pachgantschihilas, when he looked upon the little band of Christians for the first time. He had desired the presence of all the Goshen Indians, and especially the White Eyes and the Kilbucks, and instead, he and his people were called upon to welcome two old men, who were no longer fit for the chase and much less for the war-path, a number of women and children, and but one man who might be pressed into service. To counteract this keen disappointment of the Chiefs and their people would have been a sufficient task for the earnest, but inexperienced missionaries.

A great hindrance to the work of the mission was the fact that the Indians were perfectly satisfied with their religion. They persisted in the belief that God never intended the Indians to adopt the white man's religion or He would have revealed it to them in the first place. An Indian woman to whom Brother Luckenbach endeavored to make plain the way of salvation, expressed the general belief of her people, when she said: "What you say about God is intended only for the whites. I know well that the Great Spirit created three different persons; first of all, the negro, then the Indian, and last of all the white man. To each one He gave a specific mode of living, to each He revealed the way in which He should worship Him. Therefore, the Indian must remain true to his customs and his religion."

In a similar strain spoke Pachgantschihilas in answer to the missionaries, who complained to him that the Indians were so indifferent to the Word of God. Said he, "What you say is true enough, but we cannot give up our habits, our sacrifices and our teachers. Our fathers, too, received these from the Great Spirit and they left them to us, their children, as a sacred heritage. Your doctrine is for the white man alone. You see yourselves that we have different skins. Had God desired that we should have the same religion, He would have revealed it to us in the first place. But He did not do this, because He wants us to live as we are living now, and to believe nothing else. Besides, we have not forgotten the Gnadenhuetten massacre, when so many Christian Indians lost their lives. The white teachers, your

brethren, taught the same things which you are teaching now, and sought to attract the Indians unto themselves. After they had brought a large number together, they called the whites and had them ruthlessly destroyed. I know full well that the teachers (missionaries) were to blame, therefore, I do not want the Indians to be tamed again, for fear that they will fare likewise."

When the missionaries remonstrated and tried to show him that he was laboring under a grave delusion; that God in love had given the world a Saviour, who laid down His precious life in order that all who believed on Him might be saved from sin and Satan; and that his charge against the missionaries was most unjust, Pachgantschihilas answered: "I do not want to keep any Indians away from you, but neither will I urge them to come and hear you." To this, the other Chiefs gave their hearty assent. This was about the middle of the year 1803. Even at that time very few, if any heathen attended services at the mission. Rumor had it that the Chiefs had commanded their people to stay away. Scoffing Indians made fun of the Christians, saying that they must be very ignorant, because it was necessary for them to hear daily what the white people taught concerning God. Their forefathers had told them what to do and how to live, and they still remembered it, though they had heard it but once.

Heckewelder, in his "Indian Nations," tells us that the Delawares or Lenni Lenape, which means an original people, or race of men that has existed unchanged from the beginning of time, would not admit that the whites were superior beings. They regarded them as a mixed race, therefore, a troublesome one. Wherever they may be, the Great Spirit, knowing the wickedness of their dispositions, found it necessary to give them a great book (the Bible) and taught them how to read it, that they might know and observe what He wished them to do and to abstain from. But they, the Indians, have no need of any such book to let them know the will of their Maker; they find it engraved on their hearts; they have sufficient discernment given them to distinguish good from evil; and by following the inner voice, they are sure not to err. It is true, they confess, that when they first saw the whites, they took them for superior beings. They thought they might have been sent to them from the abode of

the Great Spirit for some great and important purpose. They, therefore, welcomed them, hoping to be made happier by their company. It was not long, however, before they discovered their mistake, having found them an ungrateful, insatiable people, who, though the Indians had given them as much land as was necessary to raise provisions for themselves and their families, and pasture for their cattle, wanted still more, and would not rest content with less than the whole country. And yet these white men, say those injured people, would always be telling of the great book which God had given to them. They would persuade us that every man was good who believed in what the book said and every man was bad who did not believe in it. They told us a great many things, which they said were written in the good book and wanted us to believe it all. We would have done so probably, if we had seen them practise what they pretended to believe, and act according to the good words which they told us. But no, while they held their big book in one hand, in the other they had murderous weapons, guns, and swords, wherewith to kill us poor Indians. Ah, and they did so, too. They killed those who believed on their book, as well as those who did not; they made no distinction" (pp. 187, 188).

"Their pretended worship," wrote Brother Luckenbach in his Autobiography, "is based exclusively on sensual enjoyments and prerogatives, and has reference to long life, wealth, renown, honor and good luck, and frequently to a longing desire to possess supernatural powers, and to be put into fellowship with imaginary tutelary gods, whom they expect to grant them reputation and influence. Those who are ambitious for these things, generally succeed in gaining certain advantages at the expense of others; but, at the same time, they run the risk of being stigmatized as wicked characters, whose arts and supernatural powers are engaged by others, to put their enemies out of the way. The minds of the Indians of both sexes are full of these notions, and this evil has taken such a deep root among them that even such as profess to be delivered from the power of sin by the death of Jesus, still maintain the existence of such hostile powers among the heathen, by means of which they can secretly destroy each other, either by poison or witchcraft, and hence they readily yield their hearts to suspect that such a deed has

been committed. A special measure of divine grace is therefore required by a truly converted Indian, in case of sickness or emergency, to abstain from calling in the aid of sorcerers, and to resolve rather to die as a believer in the Saviour, and thus to inherit eternal life, than to regain bodily health through forbidden medicines and then to perish everlastingly.

"The pagan Indians on being told that the Son of God, as the Saviour of the world, assumed our nature, in order to redeem us from the power of sin and Satan; that wicked men crucified Him; that He arose again from the dead and ascended into heaven, usually evade the subject by saying that they had no hand in the execution of the Son of God, because it neither took place in their country, nor was their nation implicated in its perpetration. Their God, they contended, had also come down from heaven once upon a time and had remained among them for a season, prescribing to them their mode of life and rules for the sacrificial feasts. Coming in a snow-storm, he wore large snow-shoes. Not having maltreated their God, but having given Him an honorable dismissal, and being obedient to His precepts, they felt that, unlike the white people, they had no occasion to reproach themselves with the crucifixion of the Son of God."

But difficult as it was to make the Indians understand that the Christian religion was superior to their own, not because it had been revealed to the white man, but because its blessings were the very things for which their pagan faith and life showed them to be seeking, the missionaries felt that the greatest single hindrance to the work of the mission was the powerful god of whisky in whose strong grip most of the Delawares were held fast. Those who have made any serious effort to reclaim some unfortunate slave of the drink-habit can faintly imagine the trials of faith and the tremendous hardships connected with an attempt to bring about the conversion of a heathen nation largely composed of the most wretchedly depraved drunkards. In Fairfield, Canada, and in Goshen on the Muskingum, the whisky-traffic was checked through legislation, but on the White River the arm of the law was apparently powerless to impose the necessary restrictions. With the majority of Indians away in the woods from fall until late in spring, and the greater part of their time at home passed in a drunken stupor, the task of the missionary was practically hopeless.

CHAPTER VI

Inconsistencies of the Christian Indians and the Discouragement of the Missionaries

Especially sad to relate, the talented and well-meaning Joshua would often visit the heathen towns and become hopelessly drunk. On account of this weakness, according to his own confession, he had given considerable trouble in every congregation where he had been. Naturally his sin not only lessened his influence for good among his brethren, but among the heathen as well. It was not likely that the savages would be greatly impressed by one who was drunk one day, and the next preached righteousness. In his drunkenness, he often railed at the Christians, and, even though he repented in sackcloth and ashes afterwards, the evil effect of his conduct was not so readily counteracted.

Under date of July fifteenth, 1801, the diary states: "We were grieved to hear that Joshua had fallen into his old sinful ways again, in that he secretly took his son to a witch-doctor to have him cured. This saddens us the more because he is our interpreter. When it becomes known among the heathen, it will do great hurt to the cause of the Lord. We spoke to him about it and he could not deny his guilt. He expressed his deep regrets that he had acted so unfaithfully and was very penitent. God grant, that he may seek the forgiveness of the Lord and find it. After we had talked the matter over with him, we could do nothing else than to exclude him from Communion, which is the denial of a privilege he greatly enjoys. This affected him deeply."

Christian, the occasion of Joshua's fall from grace, was an invalid and gave his father a great deal of anxiety. For several years before his death, he suffered from an open sore on his neck. On April seventh, 1802, Brother Kluge was called to his bed-side, because the father thought his end was near. He was very weak and quite out of his mind, so that the missionary

could not speak with him. All he was able to do was to sing a few hymn verses for the sorely afflicted young man and to pray that the Saviour might release him, if it was His holy will. The day before, however, he had pointed the poor sufferer to the Saviour and begged him to remember how much the Lord had suffered for us all, and for him, in order that he might be saved and live eternally with Him. Four days later, at the age of nineteen, he passed away. Little is known of the young man's life. He was an invalid even when he left Goshen with the rest of the little colony. While in Indiana, he was sick almost continually. Though he was a man of few words, he frequently complained that he had to suffer so much. He was exceedingly reticent in matters pertaining to his soul, and when the missionaries talked to him about his spiritual welfare, a bare yes or no was all they could elicit from him.

Joshua was greatly attached to his son, and when he was taken away, the strain proved too much for him. In the diary for April twenty-first, we read: "We were grieved to hear that our interpreter had gone to a big spree in the heathen town, four miles away. There he made known his bereavement, and according to heathen custom, he and the savages bewailed the loss of his son, and drank whisky. As the result of it all, Joshua became drunk and disgraced himself among the heathen. In the evening, while still intoxicated and with his face painted black, he returned home. He said that he sorrowed on account of his son's death. Oh, what a sharp pain he gave us by this fresh sin! But a few days ago he had quarreled with his wife and struck her. Afterwards he told us that he had confessed his sin to the Lord, had asked for pardon and had pledged new obedience to God, and now to see him fall again and surrender himself to Satan in this way!

"Early next day, he secretly packed his belongings with the intention of going over to the heathen entirely. Just as he was loading his goods in a canoe, we came from our corn-field on the other side, and discovered him. Brother Kluge asked him where he was going. His answer was that he was no longer worthy to stay in our midst, for he had sinned too deeply. 'I recently begged forgiveness and promised the Lord and my teachers obedience,' said he, 'and told you if I acted wickedly again, you

should not put up with me any longer in the congregation. Therefore, I am leaving of my own accord and will give you no further trouble.' Brother Kluge replied: 'Yes, what you say is only too true, but it hurts us to the quick, nevertheless, to see you in your old ways and now separating yourself so indifferently from the congregation and from the Lord to surrender yourself wholly to the Devil. Think of how much the Lord has done for you. Remember with how much patience He has borne with you. Had it not been so, you would have perished long ago. We have so often warned you and entreated you to hold fast to the Lord and beg of Him a new heart. All has been in vain. Evidently your desire is to hasten your destruction. You will suffer for it some day, and when too late, you will regret it. You will have to give an account of your sins to God and of the disgrace you have brought upon the Lord's cause. It is for you to decide; do now as you please.'

"We then left him. In his misery he cried aloud: 'Is there still pardon for me?' Brother Kluge turned about and said: 'With the Lord there is forgiveness for every sinner who in penitence seeks it.' Thereupon, he wept bitterly, and carried everything back to his house. During the afternoon, Sister Kluge saw him prostrated on the ground, weeping and praying aloud. Toward evening, still weeping, he came to us, confessed everything and acknowledged that in all the congregations to which he ever belonged, he had grieved God and his teachers by his sins. All this rested upon him like a heavy burden. He begged us to forgive him this time, because he would not rest day or night until he also secured the forgiveness of the Lord. We assured him that we would gladly forgive him, but that he should not be content with that, because it would not help him unless he found favor with God."

Next day, the missionaries received a letter from him, which read as follows: "I, Joshua, have sinned greatly against God and against man. How I have allowed myself to be deceived by Satan! I cannot fully realize what I have done. I have become a disgrace, which I regret with all my heart. I am sorry and I am sad. But I believe that I am still in God's hands, because my life is in His care. If it depended on my works, I should have perished long ago. His immeasurable grace has preserved me

hitherto, therefore, I cry unto the Lord, with my whole heart, and ask Him to have mercy on me, a poor sinner—a sinner torn in soul and body. Remember me before the Lord, dear Brethren." Shortly after this, he was re-admitted into the congregation.

Reference has been made to the disagreement with his wife. In 1801, on the fifth of November, he had married the widow Abigail, but unfortunately the marriage was not a happy one, as the fact that he beat her would indicate. Their days together were spent in strife and discord, and finally, some time during the early part of the year 1803, they separated. About a year later, Abigail died in a sugar camp about ten miles from the mission. This left Joshua free to marry again, if he chose. In July, 1904, the missionaries heard to their great sorrow, that he had sold his cow and everything he had, in order that he might persuade one of the Indian women to marry him. The heathen merely laughed at him, and no one would listen to his entreaties. For a month or so, he was in an exceedingly bad way, then he returned to the mission and begged for permission to live there again. "Do what you will with me," he said, "only permit me to stay with the brethren. I have no rest and no peace among the heathen." Though this poor man had given a great deal of trouble and had brought much dishonor on the Lord's cause among the Indians, he was received on probation once more. He was told, that he would have to leave at once, should he resume his evil practices. But he was very penitent and solemnly promised, by the grace of God, to change his life and to do better in every way. September seventh, he was re-instated in the congregation. Later on, he married a Monsey woman by the name of Peggy, with whom he lived a reasonably happy life until some time before his tragic death.

Heckewelder, in his "Narrative of Moravian Missions," gives the following interesting account of Joshua: "This Indian, of the Mohican tribe, was born in the year 1741, at Wechquadnach, an Indian village bordering on the Connecticut river, in New England, where the Brethren at that time had a mission; but the white people, some time after, becoming troublesome on account of the land they occupied, which they wanted and finally took from them, the Indian converts, fifty-four in number, besides

their children, emigrated on invitation of the Brethren, to Bethlehem, in Pennsylvania, and afterward settled on a tract of land purchased for them, about twenty-seven miles distant from that place. Here they built a town which was called Gnadenhuetten (cabins of grace).

"The father of the Indian Joshua (who bore the same name) was one of the first two Indians who were baptized at Bethlehem in the year 1742. Count Zinzendorf himself, together with the missionary Buettner, officiated on the occasion. This Joshua (the father) was, from the time of his baptism unto his death in 1773, a faithful and useful member of the church, being both a national assistant, or warden, and an interpreter of the sermons preached to the Indians." (See Loskiel's History, part third, pages 108 and 109, English translation.)

Further light is thrown on the life of Joshua, with whom our history is concerned, in Heckewelder's Narrative, in which we read: "Joshua, the son, was brought up in the fear of the Lord, and had from his childhood been within the pale of the society. He had a genius for learning both languages and the mechanical arts, was a good cooper and carpenter, could stock a gun nicely, and no one excelled him in building a handsome canoe. He also, with a little assistance from the missionary of the place where he dwelt (Wyalusing), made a spinnet for the use of the congregation and was the chapel musician while they lived there, having learned to play on the instrument and the organ at the time when the Christian Indians were stationed at Bethlehem, in the year 1756, '57 and '58, during the continuance of the war between the English and French.

"He spoke both the English and German well and could write letters in either of these languages, especially in the latter. He was fond of reading in the Bible, hymn book and other religious books. The murder of his two beloved and only daughters, between the ages of fourteen and eighteen years, by Williamson's party at Gnadenhuetten, on the Muskingum, in 1782, was a hard stroke for him to bear. Often, very often, has he been seen shedding tears on this account, though he was never heard to utter a revengeful sentiment against the murderers. He, however, could not conceal his astonishment that a people who called themselves Christians and read the Scriptures, which he sup-

posed all white people did, could commit such acts of barbarity and was firmly persuaded that if all the Indians had the Bible and could read it, they would be a better people." Joshua was sixty-five years of age at the time of his death.

The Indian brother, John Thomas, and his family, likewise proved a great stumbling block to the cause of the Lord. Unlike Joshua after he had sinned, Thomas would be guilty of the grossest immorality, and then, instead of showing the least sign of repentance, he would become defiant and abusive to the missionaries. In May, 1802, he was untrue to his wife, who naturally became quite wrought up, though her husband did not care at all. A few days later, he went to a heathen village to work, and instead, became hopelessly drunk one time after another. His wife, who at first threatened to leave him, changed her mind and followed him.

June sixth, the diary records the following disagreeable experience: "In the afternoon, we had an unpleasant time with one of our people. There is a young Indian, Samuel by name, Catherina's son, who has been with us for some time. Two years ago this fellow left Goshen with a heathen woman and has lived here among the heathen ever since. Uninvited, he came and took up his abode with his mother. He has tried in every way to insult us by his heathen practices. He painted his face, went to the Indian towns and became drunk. Then he returned and went about our village, screaming as only a drunken savage can..... His mother, though a communicant member of the congregation, saw all the scandal he created, but never said a word against it. In the presence of two Indians, we admonished the young man to mend his ways or to leave us. We reminded him of his baptism, and, in a kindly way, showed him the evil of his conduct, pointing out to him that he would be eternally lost unless he became converted, but he was perfectly indifferent, and at last walked off, saying: 'I do not want to be a Christian.'

"Soon after this his step-father, John Thomas, who has been in a bad way for some time, came to our house in great wrath. He took us severely to task for speaking to Samuel, as we did. After he had given utterance to a great many wicked expressions, he said: 'This is Indian land, and I will see to it that you are driven away to the white people from whom you came.

The Chiefs also speak of it, for they only invited the Indians to come here, and not you.' We answered him: 'We are very sorry that you have so yielded yourself into the hands of Satan, and that you are head over ears in sin. You are trying to hinder the work of the Lord. This will some day become very grievous to you. But do what you wish, God is stronger than you.'

"This man has given us a great deal of trouble already. The longer he lives, the worse he gets. He knows full well that we cannot send him away. If we should try, he would only laugh at us and worry us all the more. By force we cannot accomplish anything. The Lord is our only source of help and consolation." Later he moved entirely to a heathen town, where his little child Bethia died soon after. The latter part of the year 1803, they returned to the mission, and here their little daughter Elizabeth passed away. Thereupon, he came to Brother Kluge and told him that now his little children were buried, there would be nothing to hinder him and his family from travelling, consequently they would return to Goshen, where they would not have as many temptations as here, for their heathen friends were constantly seeking to lead them astray. In Goshen, it would be different. Brother Kluge was more than pleased with this and urged them to carry out their resolution.

John Thomas and his wife left, but not for Goshen, or if they did, they never reached there; at least, not at that time. A year or so later, Catherina, very much discouraged, came to the station and begged for permission to stay. She had a pitiful tale to unfold. She censured her husband on account of his wickedness, saying that he was not only a confirmed drunkard, but guilty of every imaginable sin. At first the missionaries were deaf to her petitions, but she was persistent, and in the end her wish was granted. Three days later she brought her children. Her husband had abandoned her entirely, and soon after they heard that he had married another woman. Poor Catherina was very weak herself, and in spite of her apparent penitence, she could not resist the temptation of attending a heathen festival, a few months later. When Charles Henry and Ska came to the White River with a message to the Chiefs, the latter part of September, 1805, she was persuaded, for her own good, to embrace the opportunity to accompany the returning deputies to Goshen.

The story of the old Indian brother Jacob and his wife, Mary, will be related in another chapter. It is not so strange, perhaps, that the Christian Indians, who were after all not so very far removed from heathenism, should fall. They were exposed to sore temptations. Most of them had friends and relatives among the degraded savages in the neighborhood. The wife of Jacob was the niece of Pachgantschihilas, and, as previously mentioned, the sister of an Indian captain. There was naturally the most intimate intercourse between Christian and savage, with the result that the former was drawn down to the level of the latter, instead of the believer transforming the heathen. But this made the trials of the missionaries no easier, and it is no wonder that they became sorely disheartened.

Realizing the tremendous odds against them and overwhelmed with the hopelessness of their task, they asked to be transferred to some other field of labor. This was in March of the year 1803. The Helpers' Conference encouraged them to stay and for the time being their drooping spirits revived, for Brother Kluge wrote: "Your representations and advice cheered us greatly. By the grace of God we will remain at our post as long as the Saviour sees fit to keep us here. Even though the prospects for the conversion of the heathen were never so dark, we will trust the Lord, for with Him nothing is impossible. We have resolved to visit all the Indian towns at planting-time, when most of the people are at home, to see if we cannot find some souls who would like to hear the gospel-message."

Unfortunately these brave words could not change the perilous conditions with which they were daily confronted. The hatred of the Indians against the Word of God and against white people increased, and insult and abuse became the daily portion of the missionaries. The savages threatened to kill their cattle and then to find a way to get rid of them if they would not cease preaching the gospel and leave of their own accord. Matters became worse when the head-chief was dismissed and every Indian did as he pleased, the worst miscreant being held in highest esteem. In their extremity, various plans suggested themselves to the missionaries. Believing that the Helpers' Conference did not understand the situation, they asked permission for one or the other to go to Bethlehem to talk matters over.

This was not feasible, because it was out of the question for Brother Kluge to leave his wife and children, and besides, it was impossible for one man to do the work at the station. Once they thought of transferring the mission to another place, away from the danger-zone. This plan was also impracticable. It would have been impossible to put up the necessary buildings before winter set in, and where would they have found the money needed for the purpose? Then, too, they would have had no feed for their cattle. There was but one way open to them, and that was to give up the mission entirely. But to this the Helpers' Conference would not give its consent, so the loyal servants of the Lord remained at their post until they were almost compelled to flee for their lives.

CHAPTER VII

Progress of the Work

The missionaries found it very difficult to learn the Indian language. It was not until the first of July, 1804, that Brother Kluge was able to preach his first Indian sermon. Though it was not an easy matter even then, the little congregation greatly enjoyed the effort; probably all the more, because the message had hitherto come through an interpreter, for whom the Indian brethren and sisters could not entertain the highest respect. Naturally the Indians preferred their teachers to speak with them in their own language, especially so, because they had the suspicion that their interpreter did not always convey the exact meaning of the missionaries. Joshua was bright, and it is quite likely that he would tone down those parts of the message that touched or condemned the sins of which he was guilty.

One reason why it took so long before the missionaries could make use of the Indian tongue was the great amount of other work which had to be done. But the greatest handicap was the fact that they had no Indian translations or dictionary to assist them in their linguistic labors. They had Zeisberger's translations, it is true, but these did not prove of much use, because they contained a mixture of Monsey and Unami, and nothing but the latter was spoken by the Delawares in general. Joshua proved a great help in this connection, because he was proficient in Indian as well as in German.

The little chapel had no organ, but this lack was supplied by Brother Luckenbach, who accompanied the singing of the little congregation on the violin or clarionet. This was greatly enjoyed by the Indians, who were very fond of music of any kind. That the children shared in this fondness for the fine art is shown by a pleasing little note in the diary, January 8, 1803. It reads: "During the evening, the Indian children came to Brother Luckenbach to ask him to play the violin for them, because they wanted to sing." While on a visit to the mission, the wife of

Tedpachsit very interestingly related how she had once been moved to tears when she heard some one play on a piano in Gnadenhuetten.

His wife's reference put old Tedpachsit in a reminiscent mood. He told how he had heard much beautiful music while on a visit to Lititz. A large thing, which the people called an organ, had pleased him greatly. Pachgantschihilas, who was with him at the time, was so deeply moved, that he almost wept. He would have given way to his feelings entirely, had he not quickly reminded himself that, as a war-chief, he should be able to hear and see anything without a show of emotion. Tedpachsit expressed the opinion to the missionaries, that the hearts of the Indians could be softened, if they had an organ like that. When reminded that music was not sufficient to change the heart; that the Word of God alone could save; and that, if the Indians would faithfully hear the preaching of the gospel and be converted, it might be possible to get an organ, some day, the old chief answered: "You are right; I will do what I can to have the Indians come and hear the Word of God."

The Indians were likewise fond of pictures. One day a number of them came to the mission and asked to see the picture of Jesus on the cross. After they had looked at it for a long time, and had heard the story of His love, they quietly went away. Later they told some Indian friends, that the missionaries would do more good, if they represented, in picture form, all they taught about heaven and hell; and if, in like manner, they showed the punishment for every sin. This is an interesting, psychological side-light. Since the symbolic and dramatic tendencies are the strongest instincts of childhood, it is but natural that these children of the forest should have craved a large number of symbols and ceremonies. The missionaries would have increased their usefulness greatly, had it been possible to satisfy these natural desires of the Indians among whom they labored.

There were other visitors who came to the mission. One July evening in the year 1802, a large Twechtowe family, consisting of nine adults and one child, arrived at the station. They encamped near the Christian village. Taking an old Frenchman, who was acquainted with their language, as interpreter, Brother Kluge called on the newcomers. After the greetings

were over, the whole family arose, shook hands and courteously begged him to have a seat in their tent. An old woman, the mother of the family, in the name of her children and grandchildren, then spoke as follows: "Father, I and my children and grandchildren are glad to see you, today. We come from a distance, a hundred miles away, from beyond Post Vincennes, where there is a large town of our nation. I and my husband, who died long ago, were baptized in our youth by a French priest. He is dead a great many years and we have seen no other since."

She then showed a medal on which was engraved a man's face, with a chalice in his hand. "This," she continued, "the priest gave me. He told me to take good care of it. He gave my husband a little bell to remind him of the church. My husband, before he died, said to me and my children, of whom none are baptized, that we should find another priest. If we found one, we should remain with him and not live among the other Indians. We have hunted for a long time, but found no priest until we came to this river. In a Delaware town not far from here, we heard some one tell of our father. As long as we remained in the Delaware town, the sky was always dark and covered with many thick clouds. One of my sons was always sick and unhappy. None of us could breathe, therefore we left that place and came to our father. As soon as we came here, the sky cleared so that we saw no more thick clouds, the day became beautiful, the sun shone brightly and my son became well immediately and we could breathe comfortably."

Hereupon, according to Indian custom, Brother Kluge called them his children and assured them of his sympathetic interest; told them that he loved them sincerely, that he rejoiced at their arrival, and especially that his dear children had come such a long distance to hear the Word of God. "We will devote ourselves to you," he said, "and tell you all about the Heavenly Father in order that you may know His will." In response, they expressed their unbounded pleasure. On the following days the missionaries visited them frequently, and, in turn, they came to the meetings every evening, where they sat and listened very attentively. Their faces were painted and otherwise adorned with silver coins. The ornaments of one consisted of eighty

silver dollars. The following Sunday, the Twechtowes attended the regular church service, at the close of which the missionaries conducted a special meeting for them, the old Frenchman mentioned before acting as interpreter. They were very attentive.

Toward evening, the whole family, accompanied by the Frenchman, came to the house of Brother Kluge. The old mother, in the name of her children and grandchildren, spoke as follows: "Father, you have already told us a great many good words. We are well pleased, because we believe them. We do not want to leave here. Give us a place where we can build a house for ourselves. All of us desire to become Christians, and in time we will bring our friends here." Brother Kluge expressed his pleasure at hearing this, and explained to them the rules and regulations of the Christian village. They were pleased with them, and readily promised to obey them to the letter. Hereupon all shook hands and departed. The next day the site for their new home was selected and they immediately began the erection of a bark house. Four days later, the missionaries learned that the Twechtowes had deceived them. They had brought six gallons of whisky to the village and all became drunk. The missionaries told them that they must leave at once both the village and the neighborhood. Fortunately, they packed their belongings and goodnaturedly left, for which the missionaries were heartily glad, because they had no legal authority, and could not have compelled them to go away, had they resisted.

This was not the only time they were deceived. In October of the second year, an Indian woman named Martha moved to the mission settlement. She had been baptized many years before. Her husband had been a Frenchman. After she had been with the missionaries for a while, she proved to be of such dissolute character, that she had to be driven away. Later she returned, pretending that she was sick of her sinful life and desired conversion, and wanting to take up her permanent residence at the station. She made all sorts of promises, but they were soon forgotten and she resumed her old habit of drinking. If she heard that there was whisky in some place, she was sure to go there. One day, she came back sick and begged the mission-

aries not to turn her away, but to allow her to go into her house. Not long after, her heathen friends came to see her. Among these was the witch-doctor, Hockingpomsga. After they had gone, she called Brother Kluge and confessed her sins. She appeared particularly penitent, but next day the witch-doctor paid her another visit and bewitched her. She waited until she was quite well, then she left of her own accord. One day a number of women who lived in the Spanish territory along the Mississippi River visited their friends in the Indian town four miles away. They also came to the Christian settlement. They related many wonderful tales about the Mississippi Valley, as all Indians were in the habit of doing, if they came from some distant country. They told how much nicer it was where they came from than it was on the White River. They said that the land on which they lived was very sweet in taste, so that they ate it like sugar. The children were especially fond of it and ate a great deal, without hurting themselves in the least. One of the Indian sisters remarked: "Then you do not have to plant corn, if you can eat the soil." "Oh, yes," one of the heathen women said, "we plant corn, too; we only eat the sweet earth for pleasure."

In August of the first year, Brother Kluge and his family had a providential escape. Back of his tumble-down hut, there stood an old, rotten oak. The Indians had been told to chop it down, but they maintained that, if it fell, it would not fall in the direction of the hut. It happened, however, that just as the missionary family was eating dinner, the tree suddenly came down with a mighty crash, half of it striking one end of the hut and crushing it completely. Brother Kluge's infant son, sleeping in the section which was demolished, was completely covered with bark and small pieces of rotten wood. The parents supposed that the poor child must be mortally injured, but when they lifted him out of the debris, he was not hurt in the least, and continued to sleep peacefully. They could not help but marvel at God's gracious protection. All might have lost their lives, therefore their hearts were filled with deepest gratitude.

Quite a number of the baptized Indians, who had drifted westward after the dispersion brought about by the Gnadenhuetten massacre, and who now lived in heathenism among the savages

on the White River, found their way to the mission, from time to time. A few of these renewed their faith in the Saviour. Thus Anna Salome, a young woman who had been baptized in Ohio, asked to be re-admitted into the congregation of the faithful. This was the first occasion on which the lot was used on the White River. It was the fourth of August, 1801. The answer was affirmative, and some time later, she was received on re-confession of faith. Her little girl was baptized and received the name of Susanna.

The first adult baptism took place on November second of the first year. This was the real first-fruit of the mission. The candidate was a widow and the daughter of the Indian brother Jacob. She was suffering from dropsy in the last stages. In this condition she was brought to the station. She wanted to spend her last days at the mission, for the purpose of being near her father and of learning the way to the true God. Her desire was to depart from the world in peace, for she knew that her days were numbered. When told of Jesus' love for sinners, that He had shed His precious blood for her sins, and that she might be saved, if she only believed, she said: "Yes, that is my desire. While still in health, I heard you preach the good word, last summer, and I thought about it a great deal. I wanted to come to you before this, but could not, because I became sick. But now I want to pass my last days on earth with you."

Next day, she begged to be baptized. "I am not content in my sickness," she said; "I believe that Jesus died for my sins and that I, too, may be saved. I want to be washed in His blood and to be baptized." It was touching to see with what eagerness and joy she answered the questions which were put to her. She was then baptized and received the name Magdalena. Christ's gracious presence was strongly felt. The newly-baptized woman was filled with gratitude for the great favor which she had enjoyed and for one whole week she lay perfectly still. Soon after, she peacefully fell asleep, and a number of days later the missionaries accorded her Christian burial.

The second adult baptism took place on Christmas day of the same year. This time the candidate was an old blind Monsey woman, who had spent some time at the mission, where she had found her Saviour. After her baptism, her soul was full of light

and, in her newly-found happiness, she exclaimed: "Never in all my life have I felt as happy as I do now. I am perfectly happy and feel as content as if I had enough of everything." She was old and her days were numbered. On the twenty-second of February of the succeeding year, she peacefully passed away, and the poor, old body, which had been stricken with blindness so long, was committed to the grave.

There were five children in the congregation. For these Brother Luckenbach, after the manner of Moravian missionaries, established a school. In a letter dated September thirtieth, 1802, he wrote to Brother Van Vleck: "I have made several attempts to establish a school. Even though the number of children is very small indeed, I take pleasure in teaching them. If they would only take more interest, and the parents would encourage them, instead of dragging them, Indian fashion, to every place they go, so that they attend school for a month or more and then stay away for an equal length of time, or even longer. Meanwhile, they forget all they have learned. Nevertheless, I will do my best to keep up the school this winter. There are really only two of our baptized children in attendance, the others, as for example, the children of Mary's daughter, are merely visiting in our village. Needless to say, the school never amounted to much, for the reasons given.

But there were other grounds for its failure, too. The Chiefs, and Pachgantschihilas in particular, were strongly opposed to it, as shown in a letter written by Brother Kluge in November, 1804. He wrote: "The Delaware Chief Pachgantschihilas this summer forbade the Indians to hear the Word of God. He also gave strict orders to Mary, the Indian sister, that she must not send her grandchildren, which, according to Indian custom, are his grandchildren, too, to school, because he did not want them to become Christians. Later, however, he sent the following message to us: 'Brethren, remember no more that I forbade my grandchildren to go to school. Perhaps I was drunk when I said that. Therefore, do not think of it any more. My desire is that they and all other children, whom parents wish to send, shall learn everything you teach them in your language, especially to read and write. Perhaps I may live to see the day that my grandchildren will be able to write, and that will be a joy to

me.' Such promises as these we have often heard from the Chiefs since we are here, but they were never fulfilled."

In January of the second year, the missionaries rejoiced to hear from a Detroit merchant who visited them, that a number of Fairfield Indians had told him that they intended to move to the White River. Nothing ever came of it. In May of the same year, the Indian Chiefs visited in Philadelphia, and on their way home stopped at Lititz, where they were hospitably entertained by the brethren. They had been called to Philadelphia to a conference of Government officials. The parents of Sister Kluge embraced the opportunity to send her letters, which filled her heart with joy.

When the annual fever in fall demanded a rather heavier toll of deaths than usual among the Indians, the superstitious heathen became alarmed. This grave matter was earnestly discussed at the council fires. Some of those inimical to the gospel thought the Christians in the neighborhood were to blame. But, fortunately for the Christians, the Chiefs were of a different mind. Their suspicions fastened themselves upon two Indian women of another tribe, who were reported to have said that they would bring great sorrow upon the Delaware nation. It was rumored that these women had assumed the form of night owls and had gone about the Indian towns for the purpose of bewitching and enchanting, with the result that the terrible sickness, which brought so many deaths in its wake, followed. The two witches were condemned to death, without a hearing. The execution was given into the hands of a Shawnee warrior, who murdered them in cold blood with his battle-axe.

CHAPTER VIII

THE CLOUDS OVER THE MISSION BECOME THREATENING

The year 1803 brought with it a great many trials and tribulations. The sky of the missionaries became overcast; threatening clouds, heavy with trouble and distress, gathered with ever-increasing rapidity as the days went by, until finally they burst into the violent disturbances that destroyed the mission, and put in jeopardy the lives of Christ's faithful witnesses. The only silver lining to these clouds was the cheering presence of the living Saviour, who strengthened and comforted them, as He only can. Otherwise, the situation was practically without a ray of cheer. The baptism of an old Indian woman to whom the name of Elizabeth was given, was the only outward sign of encouragement. The sinful practices of the Indian brethren continued; the heathen were forbidden by the Chiefs to come to the mission to hear the Word of God; the little flock became discouraged because the young Indians remained untouched by the gospel; and the number of Christians diminished rather than increased; added to this, there was not only the usual amount of sickness, but a general famine prevailed. The Indians paid a dollar for a peck of corn, if they could obtain it. Surely the lot of the missionaries was not an easy one. It was about the middle of this year that the tremendous excitement arose in connection with the war-scare, mentioned in a previous chapter.

In a wise and tactful way, Governor Harrison tried to fulfill the instructions given him by Congress. The Government distributed each year a number of presents among the Indians, every man's share, according to the diary, being a suit of clothing valued at about twelve dollars, or its equivalent. Other things may have been given, but this is what the Christian Indians, who likewise made the annual pilgrimage to Fort Wayne, where the distribution took place, brought back with them. In the summer of 1804, the Indians were told that henceforth their gift would be in the shape of money, with the understanding that they should pay part of the wages of white laborers whom the Govern-

ment would send for the purpose of building fences and houses for them, so that they could keep horses and cattle after the manner of white people. At the same time they were instructed to assist with the work which was to be done among them. The Government also promised to furnish them with the necessary farm implements, if they would use them and live as civilized people, an offer which had been made a number of times before.

The whole matter apparently met with the hearty approval of the Chiefs at the time of the conference. Later, however, when they were by themselves, they expressed different sentiments. They said that they had accepted the proposition merely because they would not have had any rest otherwise. It became plain that they had no desire to fulfill their part of the contract. Nevertheless, the following spring white laborers were sent, and the building operations began under the direction of a trader named John Connor.* When the Indian brethren heard that the Chiefs had received the promised gift from the Government, they asked for rails, too. Pachgantschihilas readily promised them a thousand for their use at the station, and in due time they were received.

It is significant that just about the same time the Government was putting forth such strenuous efforts to introduce civilization among the savages, the Indians began to dream dreams and to see visions. That there was a strong connection between the two cannot be doubted. The content of these visions makes this clear. After the proposition made by Governor Harrison that the Indians should adopt a civilized mode of life, the Chiefs spent much time in earnest deliberation. Not long after an Indian, while on the chase, had a vision, and others followed in rapid succession. An old Indian appeared to him, saying: "I am your grandfather and am come to tell you something. Game is no longer plentiful. This is all your own fault. You should not listen to the white people nor seek to imitate them by keeping horses, cows and pigs, and by clothing yourselves in the cloth which the whites bring you. You must not do this any longer.

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*This trader is thought to have been the first white man in Indiana Territory. His parents used to live on the Muskingum, and he himself was baptized by the Brethren. He married a Delaware Indian woman.

You must live again as you did before the white people came to this country. You must clothe yourselves in skins as in the days of yore. Everything that you have from the whites must be put away. If you do this, you will have wild game in plenty and the deer will once more come in front of your doors." Pachgantschihilas was inclined to give heed to this vision.

Next a Monsey woman by the name of Beade had a vision. This woman had been baptized in Friedenshuetten, but was now living among the heathen in Woapicamikunk. One evening, while sitting in front of her house, two men appeared unto her. Though she was unable to see them, she heard them say to her: "Sit still, for we have something to tell you. The Great Spirit is not satisfied with you Indians. You do such strange things at your feasts and sacrifices. You must have special spoons for these celebrations." With this, they threw down in front of her seven wooden spoons. One of them continued: "You Indians must revert to your old customs. You must love one another. If you fail to do so, a terrible storm will arise, tear down all the trees and every Indian shall be killed. In proof that these words are true, a child will be born, and he shall tell you how to live." At this point, a dispute arose between the celestial visitants. The one contended that a child should appear, while the other claimed that it would be an old man, who had lived a long time ago; nobody would believe a child, therefore the old man would rise from the dead. The dispute grew warmer and warmer, threatening to become violent, but finally they compromised on a recently departed captain, who should appear and tell the Indians how they should live and what they should do. This foolish fable met with great favor among the Chiefs and their people. The Indians were immediately called together and admonished to carry out the woman's instructions.

Surely this was a time of visions. One rapidly succeeded another, and all had the same dominant note. Another Indian woman assumed the role of a seer. In a measure, her revelation was a sequel to that of the Monsey woman. This time a man of most wonderful stature appeared, saying: "You Indians recently heard how you should sacrifice and live. You came together, it is true, but afterwards you followed your old customs anyway. You did not do as you were told. Let me tell you who I am: I

am the Devil. I, too, was present at your last feast. I confused your minds, so that you could not think clearly. Because you are continually doing my will, it will go badly with you, unless you turn about, and do even as the two spirits bade you." It was rather unusual to have the Devil so benevolently inclined, but that made no difference to the deluded Indians. Messengers were immediately sent out by the Chiefs for the purpose of announcing this new deception. The result was that more days and nights were spent in offering sacrifice, accompanied, of course, with the customary debaucheries.

These dreams or visions were related in the following manner. One would sing the dream with a loud voice, repeating only a few words at a time. These were then taken up by the others present and repeated in like manner. Meanwhile the principal singer would rattle a turtle shell which had a number of pebbles in it. They not only sang but they danced as well, the leader making all sorts of the most wonderful gestures and jumps. The rest imitated him as well as they could. Every time some one had finished a dream, all would gather about the totem pole. Toward this post they would then stretch their hands and, with a long, weird howl, the ceremony would come to a close. In this way, they believed that they thanked the Great Spirit, not only for the vision, but for the fulfillment as well. They regarded this ceremony with the utmost respect and reverence, insisting that God, who had given the vision, desired to be worshipped in this manner. These exercises were held in the Council House.*

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*Brother Luckenbach has left us the following interesting description, in his Autobiography: "The Council House was about forty feet in length and twenty feet in breadth, where they usually celebrated their sacrificial feasts and dances. This house was built of split wood, piled up betwixt posts set in the ground, covered with a roof made of laths and the bark of trees, and having an entrance at either end; but there was no ceiling; three fireplaces stood in a straight line from end to end, with large kettles suspended over them, in which a mess of Indian corn and meat boiled together, was prepared for the guests to eat, after the dance was over. Platforms, one foot high and five feet wide, were raised all along the sides of the house, which were covered first with bark and then long grass on the top of that, to serve as couches for the guests to sit or recline upon while smoking their pipes and witnessing the dancing of the rest. These dances were invariably held at night, and sometimes continued for

About this time, Brother Kluge wrote: "Never since we are here have the Indians been in such a state of revolution as they are now. They often go in large numbers to the Indian teachers, in order that they may hear the foolish account of the old woman's vision. They spend eight days and nights in sacrificing, dancing and drinking whisky. Meanwhile they live in a constant state of fear, because the old woman tells them that they will be destroyed, if they do not give perfect heed to everything she tells them. At present the Indians do not want to hear anything save these extravagant lies. Time will tell what will come of it all."

Brother Luckenbach told a heathen woman that these visions, which were occupying so much of their attention, were nothing but the works of the Devil, and admonished her to believe the Word of God as it is revealed in Christ Jesus. He assured her that God in love had become man and as such had allowed Himself to be sacrificed on the cross for the sins of the world, so that all who would believe in Him should not perish but have everlasting life; that, if the Indians would only give heed to the Word, they would soon learn that Jesus was indeed the way, the truth and the life. The woman answered, with the most perfect indifference, "Is that so?" and walked off, without another word.

Undoubtedly there were many among the Indians who were not led away by these vagaries. Among these was the wife of old Tedpachsit. If her words may be relied upon, she was not far from the kingdom. On a visit to the mission, she talked freely about the visions. She said that she had no faith in them whatever. To her mind, the prayers and sacrifices of the Indians were fruitless, because they made no one better, but rather worse. She told the missionaries that she had often wished that she, too, like so many of her former friends, might become a Christian. Her mother had been among the believers. When told of the tender love of the Saviour for sinners, she listened very attentively, and with tears in her eyes, said: "Yes; I believe that every word which you say is the truth." Unfortunately,

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weeks at a time. The whole was concluded by a sacrificial feast, for which the men had to furnish the venison and the bear's meat, and the women the corn-bread; and everything had to be prepared in the Council House, before all feasted together, amidst the observances of certain rites."

she could not be led to make a definite decision and accept Jesus as her Saviour.

For a long time the Indian brother Jacob* and his wife were the only members of the little flock who gave the missionaries no anxiety. About a year before the mission came to an end, however, they both became faithless. For a long time Mary suffered from consumption and at last was confined to bed. For years, she and her husband had been most faithful Christians, but at last they both gave way under the strain of her severe trial, coupled with the temptations held out by her heathen relatives and friends. In April, 1805, Brother Kluge wrote: "The

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*A reference to Jacob in the Goshen Diary under date of September 27, 1799, throws an interesting light on his character. It is as follows: "At the speaking with the brethren and sisters previous to the communion, Jacob told Bro. Zeisberger that when a little boy, his father took him once to some of the ceremonies of the Indians (probably their sacrifices), and directed him to pray to God, which he did, though he did not know to whom he prayed. As he grew up, he often thought of what his father had told him, and prayed again to this God of whom he knew nothing, and could of course form no idea. Now since he had heard the gospel, he had learned to know who God was: it was that Saviour whom he preached to them. 'Yes,' said Bro. Zeisberger, 'and when you want to think of God, think only of our Saviour Jesus Christ, who became a man like one of us; He has still those wounds in His hands, His feet and His side, which were made when He was crucified for us. He was once dead, but is now alive forevermore. He is the true God, who hears our prayers, forgives our sins, and gives eternal life to all those that believe in Him.'"

Jacob before his conversion was a conscientious and moral heathen. He was one of those "Gentiles which having not the law, do by nature the things contained in the law, and are a law unto themselves: which show the work of the law written in their hearts, their conscience also bearing witness." (Rom. 2:14, 15.) He never went to war, from the conviction that it was wrong to kill his fellowmen; he totally abstained from the use of spirituous liquors, because he perceived that those who drank them became thereby sick, noisy, foolish and quarrelsome; he refrained from all open sins, from a consciousness of their impropriety, and the unhappy consequences which they produced. Thus as a devout man, and one who feared and prayed to God, he was perhaps even as a heathen accepted with Him. (Acts 10:2, 35.) Such examples we have reason to believe are rare. Scripture and experience have however made us acquainted with some of them. Jacob has ever had the fairest of characters, and was universally beloved by all that knew him, which his name, Pemahoalend, or "well-beloved," sufficiently denotes.

Indian sister Mary, who has been confined to her bed for quite a time, on account of consumption, gives us a great deal of trouble and heartache. In the beginning, it seemed as if she was wholly resigned to the will of the Saviour. At present, however, she and her old husband have no faith in Him at all. We feared this for a long time, because her heathen friends, of whom she has a great many in this community, constantly went to her and recently stayed with her for days. They did their best to instil in her mind their heathenism, especially by their system of doctoring. They told her that there was no reason at all why she should not become well again. To Jacob and Mary, ungrounded in the faith as they are, this naturally proved a strong temptation.

"The dire results of these temptations soon showed themselves clearly enough. We visited her more than once a day, without exception, ever since her affliction, and pointed her to the dear Saviour for comfort, and admonished her to persevere and place her whole confidence in the Lord, and in no wise look for help and comfort from any one save Jesus alone. In the beginning it seemed as if our earnest admonition had taken effect, but, all of a sudden, in the most unexpected manner, she announced to us that she desired to hear no more, because the Word of God would not heal her body; that her heathen friends had promised to cure her and that she now wanted to be taken to them. She further said: 'Let me alone now; I know best what is good for me. While I still lived among the heathen, the Indian doctors by their power made me well forty times, or else I would be under the ground long ago, and I have not forgotten it.' Do what we would, all our loving efforts to keep her from carrying out her intention were fruitless, especially so because her uncle, Chief Pachgantschihilas, had said that if we would not permit her to leave, he would have all of us driven away. On the Great Sabbath, they put the patient in a canoe and took her to Woapicamikunk to her uncle, who had sent Indians to assist in bringing her there."

Poor Mary was not the first nor the last who made shipwreck of her faith through the ills of life. She was taken at once to a sorcerer, who promptly subjected her to his treatment. Later Joshua came across her while in Woapicaminkunk. She railed

at him fearfully, saying: "You, too, claim that the Indians worship the Devil." Joshua tried to persuade her of better things, but to no avail. A month later, Jacob and Mary returned to the Christian village, but instead of taking up their abode in their former home, they went to a little hut nearby. Mary was sick unto death. Jacob begged the missionaries to pray for her, which they were only too glad to do. But unfortunately, she had lost consciousness soon after their arrival, and consequently could neither speak nor understand. In this sad condition she lay for twenty-four hours. The missionaries saw that her end could not be far off, but they cherished the hope that she might regain consciousness before her final release. In this they were disappointed, because she died in a very short time. Jacob begged them to bury her, which they did. Thereupon the heathen friends, who had gathered, set up their fearful wailings. They had promised to behave, so the missionaries tried to stop them. The mourners then told them to go where they came from, that nobody had called them, and what was more nobody wanted them; the land belonged to the Indians anyway. It is refreshing to relate that Jacob afterwards repented of his backsliding, was re-admitted into the congregation of the faithful and died, January, 1806, a firm believer in the Lord Jesus Christ.

Two events of far-reaching importance happened the latter part of May, 1805, and the months following. One of these was the sudden death of Chief Pachgantschihilas. It was largely through the instrumentality of this enemy of the gospel, that poor Mary fell away from the true faith. He assured her that he would go to heaven, where he had a house and wife awaiting him, therefore there was no need for him to listen to the white teachers. His sudden departure brought about a veritable revolution among the Indians, because he had been held in high esteem by his people. As was always the case under such circumstances, no one thought for a moment that he had died a natural death. They believed that he had been poisoned, and, truth to tell, this probably was the case. Tedpachsit was suspected of the crime, and in consequence his life was in constant danger.

In his "History of Missions Among the Indians," Loskiel says: "One of the most melancholy causes of painful disorders and

sudden deaths among the Indians is the use of poison. There is no want of poisonous herbs and trees for this purpose, and their noxious qualities are very different. One kind of poison operates by slow degrees, but brings on certain death in three or four months. Another sort causes a lingering illness, which may last a year or longer, but cannot be removed by any means whatever. A third species of poison kills in a few hours, but its effect may be prevented by a timely vomit.....The Nanticokes instructed the Delawares and Iroquois in preparing a peculiar kind of poison, which is capable of infecting whole townships and tribes, with disorders as pernicious as the plague. The Nanticokes, who were the wretched inventors of this art, have nearly destroyed their own nation by it. They pretend that this method is inefficacious, unless a company of them unite in the same design. The Delawares have attempted to extirpate this shocking evil, but in vain, and they are therefore always in danger of poison." (Part I, Page 118.) From this it is evident that the Indians may have been right, when they suspected poison in connection with the death of Pachgantschihilas.

The other event that stirred the Indian population greatly was the breaking out of a very virulent bilious fever. A great many deaths followed in an incredibly short time. The Indians were puzzled, yea, dumbfounded. They did not know what to make of it. Why had this terrible scourge come upon them? Had they not recently celebrated a great many of their festivals, and had they not especially prayed for long life? Why then did the Great Spirit allow this fearful affliction to come upon them? To their mind there was but one answer to these questions. Either sorcery or poison must be at the bottom of the trouble. Plans were therefore made for a thorough investigation, and in a short time the lives of three Wyandotte Indians were sacrificed on the altar of their cruel suspicion and superstition.

Meanwhile the little mission was not left undisturbed. One day a horde of half-naked, drunken savages, with faces painted black, and armed with all sorts of murderous weapons, came to the mission and threatened to shoot the swine. The missionaries sought to disarm their hostilities with kind and friendly words, but when they saw that the bestial savages were merely seeking

a provocation to carry out worse intentions, they gladly retired from the field and kept still. One of the savages shot a pig, whereupon they dragged it away amid the most terrifying war-whoops. The missionaries afterwards complained to the Chief about this bold deed, but they received little or no satisfaction. He told them that he had no part in it; in fact, had tried to discourage them, and should anything of the kind be repeated, they should not think that he had given his consent to it. This was poor consolation indeed. To their dismay, the missionaries saw that the Chief was not only indifferent but powerless, even if he had any inclination to protect them.

Tedpachsit was no longer in office. The rule of the mob held sway, and everybody did that which seemed right in his own eyes. For the unprotected missionaries the situation became more and more precarious. Not only the mission, but their lives were in greatest danger. The savages began to leave their towns and settle near the station for no other reason than to make life miserable for them. Their lot became unbearable to the missionaries. To their sorrow, they saw that not only the gospel but they personally were hated in the most cordial manner. The Chiefs who had called them, or had pretended to do so, were no longer in power. The principal Chief had been deposed, Pachgantschihilas was dead, and Hockingpomsga had little or nothing to say. Who can blame the missionaries for petitioning the Helpers' Conference for permission to withdraw from the field and retire to a place of safety?

They were strongly urged to leave by Tedpachsit and his family, who spent three days at the mission during these troublous times. He complained bitterly that he had been forsaken by his people, who were now threatening his life. He said: "I sometimes have a notion to separate myself from these wicked Indians entirely and come to you. I see clearly that the religious practices of my people do not amount to anything at all. Instead of becoming better, the Indians are steadily growing worse. But at this place where you live now, I cannot live with you. Here you are entirely surrounded by hostile Indians. It is useless for you to stay any longer, because I am sure that not an Indian will be converted. They hate the Word of God and they are bound that you shall not teach it on this river. As long as Pachgant-

schihilas lived, we held the bad Indians in check and kept them from doing you harm, but you see for yourselves how things are now. Nobody listens to me, and everybody does as he pleases. I advise you not to stay here any longer." The missionaries assured him that they had realized for a long time how precarious their situation was, and had reported it to their superiors, but that they could not leave, except in the most dire necessity, until they had received permission to do so. Tedpachsit greatly feared that this would involve too much dangerous delay, but the missionaries, sincerely as they longed to leave the place of terror, possessed their souls in patience, and, then and there, began to preach the gospel to their friendly adviser.

About this time more fuel was added to the already existing excitement among the Indians. A number of them had been to Vincennes where they heard that the Twechtowe, Pottawatimi and other tribes had sold another large tract of land to the whites. What was more, it had been said in the presence of Governor Harrison, that in reality the Delawares had no land of their own, and consequently had no right to live on the White River. The nations referred to claimed that the land had never been given to the Delawares; that they had been simply given permission to live on it, but now that they began to dispose of it, without even asking the consent of the owners, they demanded it back again. As may be imagined, this unexpected turn of events excited the already wrought up Delawares still more. Some of them counselled immediate removal to the Mississippi Valley, while others were in favor of taking up arms and fighting for their rights.

Early in fall there was a slight rift in the clouds. The missionaries had the joy of welcoming Charles Henry and three other Goshen mission Indians. They received a number of letters and three Indian hymn books. Charles Henry had been delegated by the Indian congregation at Goshen to hold a conference with the Delaware Chiefs in order to determine the status of the missionaries and the Christian Indians on their domain. Joshua and Jacob accompanied the visitors to the council held at Woapicamikunk. The Goshen deputy was well received. He reminded the Indians of their invitation to the Christians, as also of their promise of support and protection, if

they came. The council received these reminders in the most kindly way and treated the deputy with the greatest respect, but in the end they did as they pleased anyway, and the mission was no safer than it had been before. On the twenty-eighth of September, Charles Henry and Ska, accompanied by Sister Catherina, the wife of John Thomas, and her three children, left for Goshen, and in due time arrived there safely. The two other Indians of the Henry party, Thomas White Eyes and Kaschatis, decided to remain in the White River country for the time being.

Another ray of brightness that for a brief space of time illumined the darkness, was the baptism of an old Cherokee woman, whose family had given the missionaries considerable trouble. Brother Kluge writes: "Under so many distressing circumstances, our dear Saviour, ever and again, renewed our hope and strengthened our courage, so that, in deep humility and with the consciousness of our own inability, we could preach the word of the cross to all who would listen. Our Lord owned our testimony, so that we could have the joy of baptizing, on Christmas Day, the old Cherokee woman, who has been living with us for some time. She received the name Hannah. A number of heathen, among whom were the deposed Chief Tedpachsit and his family, were present at the baptism and witnessed it with the deepest interest. The gracious presence of God, our Saviour, was strongly felt. The wife of Tedpachsit was so deeply moved that she broke out into loud weeping. Her testimony afterwards gave us great joy. She remained with us during the holidays, to hear, as she said, the Word of God aright." Hannah was the only adult who was baptized that year.

CHAPTER IX

STIRRING EVENTS LEADING TO THE ABANDONMENT OF THE MISSION

Though a great many Indians had dreamed dreams and seen visions, all these dwindled into insignificance before the presumption of the arch-deceiver, who arose during the latter part of the year 1805. This prophet of evil was a Shawnee by the name of Laulewasikaw, which signifies "the loud voice." This man was the brother of the illustrious Tecumseh. He was among the followers of his brother when they settled among the Delawares on the White River, in 1798. For many years a rather respectable old Shawnee by the name of Penagashega had been engaged as a prophet among his people. At last he became sick and died. Laulewasikaw was not slow to recognize his opportunity. He seized the mantle as it slipped from the shoulders of the dying prophet and assumed the sacred office. Abandoning his old name, he forthwith called himself Tenkswautaw, which signifies the "Open Door." This name was assumed because he pretended that the Great Spirit had called him to point out to the Indians the way of life.

The prophet admonished the Indians to put away their horses and their cattle, shave their heads and revert to the customs of olden times, in which event game would be plentiful again. Witchcraft was denounced in the strongest terms, because those guilty of it would be barred from heaven and would never see the Great Spirit. Drunkenness justly fell under the prophet's displeasure. In preaching against this great sin of his people, he was wont to relate that, since he had become a prophet, he had been up in the clouds. The first place to which he came was the abode of the devil. Here were congregated all persons who had died a drunkard's death and flames were continually issuing from their mouths. He acknowledged that he, too, had been a drunkard, but when he looked upon that awful scene, he reformed. Many of the Indians became alarmed and stopped drinking whisky. The intermarriage of Indian women with

white men was strongly condemned and given as one of the causes why the Indians were not as happy as in the days of yore. The prophet's code also embraced community of property, which was a wise regulation for such as he to advocate. The young men were urged to respect and support the aged and infirm. As a reward for those who would obey his precepts, he promised the comforts and happiness enjoyed by their forefathers. He also pretended to have received from the Great Spirit the power to cure all manner of diseases, to confound his enemies, and to stay the arm of death in sickness or on the field of battle.

It is generally believed that the prophet said nothing in the beginning of his career about the ambitious scheme of his brother to form an Indian confederacy against the whites. Nevertheless, it is very likely that he did not wait long before he mentioned it. This project in itself would have been sufficient to win him the ear and recognition of the Delawares, who were not at all satisfied with the treatment they had received, and were still receiving at the hands of the whites. Furthermore, the prophet held out the hope that the white people would surely be destroyed, if the Indians should be obedient to him as the agent of the Great Spirit. To impress the Indians with the truth of his prediction, he said that he had been shown a crab with mire in its claws from the bottom of the sea. "Behold this crab," said the Spirit; "it comes from Boston and brings with it a part of the land in that vicinity. If you Indians will do everything which I have told you, I will overturn the land, so that all the white people will be covered and you alone shall inhabit the land." But what appealed most strongly to the Delawares was his pretended power to reveal that which was hid. This was exactly what they desired, because they were anxious to get rid of the poison which had been used so freely among them, to the destruction of many.

Though Tenkswautaw was easily the leading prophet, he was not the only one who had been endowed with the spirit of prophecy. Among these minor prophets was a woman who had considerable influence. She made the Indians believe that she had seen God Himself and all His holy angels, and that God had laid the good spirit into her hands, whereupon she had taken it

into her mouth and swallowed it, so that the spirit within her revealed to her everything which God desired the Indians to do. By means of such gross deceptions, these instruments of Satan sought to keep the poor people under the influence of the powers of darkness, and unfortunately they were only too successful.

Meanwhile Tedpachsit and his family made active preparations to move to the mission. In fact, some of his belongings had already been brought there, when the prophet got in touch with him and easily persuaded him to change his mind. Having fallen into disrepute with his people, and being in momentary danger of his life, he must have considered it the better part of valor to bow to the will of the arch-deceiver, whose influence was daily becoming greater among the Indians. If what he is reported to have said is true, it is quite likely that the hope that he might save his life, forced the lie from his lips. He is said to have declared that he was convinced that the teaching of the missionaries was entirely false and led its adherents on the straight path to hell, because he had known more than one Indian who had arisen from the dead and every one assured him that there were no Indians in hell; only white people.

The later part of January, 1806, several Indians brought letters from the Helpers' Conference and from the brethren Zeisberger and Mortimer. The Helpers' Conference advised the missionaries to remove to another place and establish a mission there. In answer to this, Brother Kluge wrote: "We read your letter with a great deal of interest. We learn from it, that in accordance with the plain leading of the Saviour, you advise us to leave our place here, and to look about for another neighborhood in the Indian country, with the view of establishing a new work. This matter gave us a great deal of concern at first, because it brought to mind very vividly the many difficulties connected with the establishment of this settlement. Now we can count on still more, because we have no outside help whatever.

"But, since we recognize the necessity of finding another location only too well, and as we are now fully convinced that this is the will of our Lord and Saviour, in full reliance on His gracious assistance, we will be glad to take the risk. We know that what He asks us to do, He expects us in childlike obedience to carry out. To Him we owe body and soul. We therefore accept your

advice in the matter with willing minds, and will accommodate ourselves to the prescribed direction. The more we recognize our weakness and inability, the more we pray to the dear Lord that He should have mercy upon us and direct our way in accordance with His holy will. We have different localities in mind, which might be proposed, but not having the necessary knowledge concerning them, we will not say anything about them for the time being. As soon as something definite presents itself, we will let you know at once.

"It is remarkable that just at this time when the Lord directs us to change our place of work, we hear that the Indians, who live in the town four miles from here, desire to move to the Mississippi Valley. For this reason two of the baptized Indians who are with us, have no desire to accompany us elsewhere, because they believe that we would now enjoy rest and peace where we are, since the young Indians, who have given us the most trouble, are about to leave. We are aware, however, that these two think more of their houses, which they are loath to leave, than of anything else. This matter gives us considerable concern, because we have only four baptized Indians at present, and we would not like to leave one of them behind. We know beforehand that such would quickly revert to heathenism; at the same time, we cannot on their account act contrary to the direction of the Lord.

"Since we have no outside help whatever, we will be compelled to hire a man, for a short time, to assist us in the beginning of a new place. It is utterly impossible for us to do all the work alone; namely, build houses, clear the land, cut wood, split rails and plant, and do the many other things that a new settlement will bring with it. This would naturally involve some expense, but we have confidence in our brethren that they will not deny us the necessary means." Soon after this letter was written, Joshua was dispatched to Woapicamikunk to ascertain from Tedpachsit and a number of friendly Indians where a suitable locality might be found for a new station. To Joshua's great surprise, he found that they were wholly unfriendly to the project and to the work of God in general. They advised the Christians to remain where they were.

But the missionaries were not so easily discouraged. Brother Luckenbach and Joshua went up the river to spy out the land, but they found no place suitable for a new station. They next went south for a distance of eight miles or more. Again they were unsuccessful. Then they turned their eyes to the Missis-sinnaway or Lemachtesink, which was a whole day's journey away. The prospects in that vicinity were not any too good, there being little open land available for planting purposes. But since this seemed the only place at all suitable, and one to which no intoxicants would be brought, they concluded to weigh matters carefully before passing it by. Their further explorations, however, were soon brought to an untimely end. When the Indians learned that they intended to settle elsewhere, and that, too, against their advice, they were greatly displeased. They said: "The Christians have a good place where they are now, what more do they want? They are here but five years and now they want to move away. If allowed to do so, they will scatter the wild game still more, therefore we will not permit it. If they do not care to remain where the Chiefs originally placed them, they must go where they came from."

But the missionaries were not satisfied and decided to acquaint the Chiefs with their intention. The following message was therefore sent to Woapicamikunk: "Friends, last fall, as you remember, the Christian Indians from the Muskingum and we renewed our friendship with you. At that time we were glad to learn that you were still pleased to have us near you. We like to be with you and do not want to separate ourselves from you, in spite of the fact that so few of your number have accepted the Word of God, which we proclaim. We pray God that He may give you a true desire for His Word, for faith in the gospel alone can make you happy. Now, friends, hear what we have to say further. You know that it is almost five years since we came here, where the Chiefs placed us. We have learned during that time, that this is not a good place for the Christian Indians. Because it is essential that we live more undisturbed and in a quieter place, we came to the conclusion that it would be better if we would move a little farther to one side, where such of your number as desire to embrace the gospel might move and live unmolested. We ask you, therefore, for permission to seek for

a more suitable location than our present one. Undoubtedly you can give us good advice in the matter, because you are better acquainted around here than we. This is what we would ask of you, our friends. We sincerely desire you to regard us ever as your friends, yea, as your own flesh and blood."

Brother Luckenbach and Joshua were the bearers of this message to the assembled Indians in Woapicamikunk. To their great astonishment, they were not so much as given a decent hearing. One of the Chiefs handed back the wampum, saying, that they were busy with more important matters; that the young people now reigned and that the old no longer had anything to say; the Christians should stay where they were. The messengers remonstrated, whereupon they were informed in great wrath, that they could do as they pleased, there was nothing further to say. With sad hearts, Brother Luckenbach and Joshua returned home.

About this time the newly-baptized Hannah, actuated by fear, secretly went to Woapicamikunk to the heathen festival. She thought she could go and return without having the missionaries find out that she had been away. Her plan did not work. When she was ready to go home, she was informed that she had to stay an indefinite length of time. Several days later an Indian came to Joshua's house and gave utterance to all sorts of blasphemous lies. He said that the Indians knew only too well that as soon as any one was baptized, he was henceforth in league with the devil and belonged to him. He expressed pity for Joshua that he was so deceived. Joshua told him to spend all his pity on himself, because he was the one who was deceived and blind and ignorant, preferring to believe the lies of heathen teachers to the Word of God. The scoffing visitor laughed him to scorn. This same fellow afterwards came to the missionary's house and begged for something to eat. Remembering the words of our Lord Jesus Christ when he said: "If your enemy hungers, feed him," he received the desired food.

Though convinced that the Indians hated them most cordially, and that they would have nothing further to do either with them or the cause of the Lord, the faithful missionaries proved that they were shepherds of the sheep, and not hirelings. In spite of their cold reception at Woapicamikunk and the manifest oppo-

sition of the new Chiefs to their locating elsewhere, they still cherished the hope that the Lord would open the way to some other place where they might establish a new work. To this end, they scoured the neighboring country still further, but alas! their hopes were definitely blasted by the sad occurrence of the memorable thirteenth of March.

On this day, seven savages of the wildest sort, with their faces painted black, came to the mission and led away Joshua by force. They said that his presence was demanded immediately at Woapicamikunk, where the Indians were assembled at the call of the prophet to conduct a thorough investigation looking to the extirpation of sorcery, and the use of poison, which they believed at the bottom of the many deaths that had occurred so recently. Hither Joshua was to have come a few weeks before, but fortunately he had not been at home when the messenger came to lead him away. When told of the occurrence later on, Joshua said: "May God protect me! I do not want to have anything to do with their heathenish ways. My constant prayer is that the Lord should take care of me in these evil times and keep me faithful to the end." But this time he had to go and give an account of himself. The missionaries remonstrated with all their might, saying that Joshua was a Christian and had nothing to do with the heathen, but their energy and breath were wasted entirely. Theresa was now the only Christian Indian left at the mission. Their feeling cannot be imagined, much less described. In their anguish they turned to the Lord for refuge, pleading mightily that He should have mercy on them, and especially on the soul of poor Joshua. Several days later, they learned that he had been brought face to face with the accused Chief and easily proved that the charge against him was false. Thereupon Tedpachsit confessed that he had told a lie out of fear, with the hope that he might in this way quiet the excited mob, knowing all the time that Joshua was innocent.

It was at the instigation of the crafty prophet that the young Indians had banded together, dismissed their Chiefs and taken a large number of Indians prisoners. Any one hostile to the prophet and his plans was promptly denounced as a sorcerer or as one guilty of dealing out poison to the destruction of the Indians, and put to death. The deposed Tedpachsit was first to

be tried for poisoning Indians. There was a reason for this. At the bottom of the false charge was the prophet's hatred against the poor old man, because it had been through his influence that the whites were able to make the treaty with the Indians, in 1804, whereby a large tract of land between the Wabash and the Ohio Rivers was ceded to the United States. Being innocent of the accusation, Tedpachsit had nothing to confess. Thereupon his accusers bound him to a stake and began to torture him over a slow fire. It was then that the lie, which so cruelly involved Joshua, was wrung from his parched lips.

Though freed from the charge against him, Joshua was not allowed to go home. The prophet was not present at the preliminary examination, therefore all the suspects were kept under close guard until he should arrive. Pretending that he could read men's thoughts as well as their faces, and bring to light everything that was hid, the prophet came to Woapicamikunk to show the Delawares who among them were guilty of having poison in their possession. The Indians made it very easy for him, because they always told him beforehand whom they suspected. All that he had to do was to confirm their suspicions, and they were perfectly satisfied. Meanwhile the fate of Joshua and the other prisoners hung in the balance.

When the prophet arrived, the Indians were commanded to seat themselves in a circle, and with a great deal of pomp and ceremony, a large number were pronounced guilty of sorcery* or of concealing poison. Hockingpomsga was also among the prisoners. When the prophet was asked concerning Joshua, whom he could see with half an eye that they suspected and wanted out of the way, he said that he had no poison, but an evil spirit, by means of which he could destroy the Indians. What more could they want? They had now heard what they had desired for a long time. The condemned prisoners were kept

*The sorcerers were supposed to occasion disease and death at will. It was believed that one of the most skillful sorcerers could kill a man within twenty-four hours, and that not necessarily with poison, but by the employment of the black art, which was effective for a distance of four or five hundred miles. The Indians pretended that their witchcraft and poison had no effect on white people, because they ate too much salt.

under the closest surveillance until the punishment of death might be meted out to them.

Tortured by the thought of Joshua's probable fate, the missionaries could neither eat nor sleep. On the seventeenth of March their troubles increased. They were overwhelmed with horror and anguish as they saw ten murderous Indians, with faces painted black, bring Tedpachsit* near their settlement. In full sight of the mission, the cruel barbarians built a large fire. When all was in readiness, his own son buried the war-hatchet in the head of the unfortunate old man, and then, while still alive, they cast him bodily into the roaring flames. With fiendish glee they danced about the fire and made merry over the pitiful cries and frightful contortions of their hapless victim. Both the prairies and the woods were set on fire by the cruel procedure. Imagine the horror and amazement of the missionaries, when the inhuman monsters came into their house, after the cold-blooded murder, boasting of what they had done and asking for something to eat, and tobacco for their pipes. Nothing was left but to accede to their request. The son, wearing his father's belt of wampum, and displaying a number of articles that had been taken from the helpless victim before his murder, said: "This belonged to him, who discarded my mother and his oldest children, and took unto himself a young wife."

The missionaries composed themselves as well as they could under the terrible circumstances, and inquired after their old interpreter, and what was to become of him. They answered that Joshua was not a prisoner without a reason; that they knew well enough that he was familiar with the black art, by means of which he could destroy Indians and make them tame, and that his being a Christian was mere pretence. The missionaries tried their best to convince them that they were wrong, but in vain. They therefore sent a message to the captains of the wild and irresponsible savages, reminding them that Joshua was an old believer and had nothing to do with those things charged against him; that he had never had anything to do with them, because he belonged to God and shunned every work of the

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*After the murder of Tedpachsit, the Delawares elected as their head chief Thahutoowelend, of the Turkey tribe.

devil; and furthermore, that he was a Mohican, and, as they knew well enough, had come here with them as their interpreter; that they demanded his immediate release, because they considered what they did to him, as done unto them. In spite of the fact that the murderers knew full well that the prisoner would be put to death that very day, they promised that they would deliver the message and that no harm should befall him.

Brother Kluge writes in this connection: "After we were once more alone, such a feeling of sadness overpowered us that we burst into loud weeping. We threw ourselves on our knees before the Lord in prayer, and besought Him for strength and resignation to His will. We pleaded that He should protect us and our poor Joshua with His powerful hand, at the same time commending our souls and that of our interpreter to His most gracious care. We prayed that He should grant us strength to remain faithful unto death, should it be His will that both we and Joshua should lose our lives at the hands of the frenzied savages. In spite of the fact that we had heard that the Indians suspected that we and all other teachers of Christian Indians took away all poison from the converts, and kept it, so that they might be made sick or put to death, if they failed to do as they were told; and though we did not know how far the Evil Spirit might lead the savages, or what our fate would be, since they had threatened to put out of the way any one who would in the least oppose their actions, our anxious hearts constrained us to send a message to the assembled Indians. We resolved to make a strong effort to rescue Joshua, and if we failed in that, to have at least a last word with him, or die in the attempt.

"Because it was impossible for me to leave my wife and children alone in this terrible state of affairs, Brother Luckenbach volunteered to go, with the intention, however, of looking up a trader on the way, who would accompany him. With high courage he rode away in the early morning of the eighteenth, but he had not gone more than half way, before he met the Indian Chief Kiktuchwenind, who told him that Joshua had been murdered the day before."

The missionaries learned later that his persecutors had formed a ring about him, after they had conducted him to a large fire, and then demanded that he should confess how many lives he

had already destroyed by means of his evil spirit. After he had solemnly declared his innocence, one of the savages stepped out of the ring and walked to the fire, apparently for the purpose of lighting the pipe, stuffed with tobacco, at the end of his tomahawk. When he came back from the fire, he gave Joshua a blow on the head with his tomahawk. Others followed suit, whereat all raised a tremendous shout, and barbarous hands took the bleeding body and threw it into the flames, where it was wholly consumed.

This was the most terrible blow of all. Brother Kluge writes: "Anguish and terror took possession of us, and we could not think clearly on account of fright; sighs and tears were now our portion. After we regained our senses somewhat, our first thought was to sell everything and flee to Goshen. Indeed, we had every preparation made to do this, when all of a sudden cold weather set in, and we were hindered from going, on account of the little children. After several days, we heard that Joshua had spoken a great deal at the place of his martyrdom, and that in a language which the savages could not understand. From this we suppose that he must have prayed to the Saviour in German, because he was in a very encouraging state of mind and heart, when the savages took him away from here. Furthermore, we heard that the Indians built an enormous fire, threw Joshua into it, and though they constantly fed the flames, after two hours his body was but slightly scorched, which enraged them all the more. After that they built a still larger fire, and even then his remains were not wholly reduced to ashes before morning."

Many other victims were burned to death. Among them was an old Indian woman named Caritas, who had been baptized by the Brethren in former days. She had visited at Bethlehem many times in her earlier years. Having fled westward to escape the murderous whites, who had killed so many of her relatives and friends, she became the unfortunate victim of her own people's superstition and cruelty. As soon as the prophet saw that she was suspected by the Indians, she was at once condemned as a witch, and her terrible fate soon overtook her. Caritas had no connection with the mission. A young Indian, commonly known as Billy Patterson, the nephew of Tedpachsit, was likewise accused of witchcraft, and burned. The wife of the

old Chief was also found guilty, but her life was saved by her brother, who boldly stepped up to her, took her by the hand and led her out of the council house. Strange to say, he did not meet with the least opposition. Later on this same man returned and defied the prophet, by exclaiming: "The Evil Spirit has come among us, and we are killing each other."

The mission diary contains an account of a somewhat similar deliverance, and it is more than likely that the reference is to the same occasion. The missionaries heard that the savages had attempted to put to death the only remaining Delaware Chief, Hockingpomsga, and the Chief of the Nanticokes together with six other Indians, but when they were about to be thrown into the flames, their friends arose, took weapons and sprang among the murderers, threatening to kill any one who would attempt to interfere. The hand of execution was stayed, but the victims did not feel safe or easy. For this reason, the most well-to-do among them secretly sent to the prophet a hundred strings of wampum, besides cows and silver. They were promptly set free on the pretext that they had purchased their release. This unsettled state of affairs continued until the beginning of May. It would have lasted still longer and many more innocent people would have fallen victims to the cruelty of the barbarians, had not one of the tribes revolted and with fearful threatening called a halt to the wanton bloodshed. For a time, it looked as if a bloody revolution would come to pass, but fortunately the matter blew over without any serious results.

On the twenty-third of March, the missionaries received word from the Indians through a trader, that they had no intention of hurting them, but that they should leave the Indian country as soon as possible. Though greatly alarmed, they did not want to go away before they had heard from the Indians in a more direct way. Accordingly Brother Luckenbach went to the assembled savages at Woapicamikunk and asked what their pleasure was concerning them. He was told that the white teachers were neither wanted nor needed; that strictly speaking, they had never been invited to come; that they had merely requested their own relations on the Muskingum River to move to them, but that the White Eyes, Kilbucks and other families, whom they had especially wanted, had not responded.

They boldly declared that the missionaries' teaching was not of God. It might be good enough for white people, but it would not do for the Indians. "We know what is right and wrong," they said, "and have no need that any one should try to tell us how to live. That may have been necessary in former days, but things are different now. Any Indian who allows himself to be baptized makes a covenant with the devil. The old Chiefs are no longer alive and whatever promises they may have made are no longer in force; they do not concern us. You may know, once for all, that no Indians will come to hear you preach the Word of God, so there is no reason why you should remain. But, if you insist on staying where you are, you are at perfect liberty to do so. You can do as you please and we will do as we please." With this Luckenbach had to rest content, and there was nothing for him to do but to return home. In the meantime, the murder of helpless victims continued.

Nothing but the grace of God could sustain the missionaries under the constant strain of these perilous times. After what they had passed through, and after they had been told by the young savages who hated them intensely, that if they decided to remain at their post, they would do so at their own risk, they were anxious to leave the White River as soon as possible. Among other things, Brother Kluge wrote to the Helpers' Conference as follows: "My poor wife is comfortless and in a pitiable frame of mind. The fear and terror inspired by the actions of the unbridled savages have so broken her down in body and spirit, that she positively refuses to remain here any longer. It is all that I can do to persuade her to stay long enough for us to learn the will of our brethren in the matter.

"No one can blame my wife for feeling the way she does. Being the mother of three little children who are dependent upon her, it is doubly hard for her to live under these terrible conditions. We can never tell how soon new dangers may arise and we shall have to flee for our lives. Brother Luckenbach and I feel about the same as my wife. And yet, being men, we are better able to cope with the many trials that beset us. In full confidence, dear brethren, that you must understand our distressing situation and will not take our request amiss, my wife

and I herewith most humbly beg you to call us away from this post. We assure you that we are ready to be used elsewhere in the service of the Lord, but we do want to leave here. With the sincere hope that you will not deny us this petition, dear brethren, we await with the greatest eagerness your answer. Believing that we may expect a reply by the end of July, one or the other will go to Cincinnati at that time to get your letter."

On the eighteenth of April, two white men brought a letter to the Indians from Governor Harrison, in which he strongly condemned their wicked conduct and especially their murder. He wrote:* "My Children,—My heart is filled with grief, and my eyes are dissolved in tears at the news which has reached me. You have been celebrated for your wisdom above all the tribes of red people who inhabit this great island. Your fame as warriors has extended to the remotest nations, and the wisdom of your Chiefs has gained you the appellation of grandfathers from all the neighboring tribes.....My Children, tread back the steps you have taken, and endeavor to regain the straight road which you have abandoned. The dark, crooked and thorny one, which you are now pursuing, will certainly lead to endless woe and misery. But who is this pretended prophet who dares to speak in the name of the Great Creator? Examine him. Is he more wise and virtuous than you are yourselves, that he should be selected to convey to you orders of your God? Demand of him some proofs, at least, of his being the messenger of deity. If God has really employed him, he has doubtless authorized him to perform some miracles, that he may be known and received as a prophet.

"If he is really a prophet, ask him to cause the sun to stand still, the moon to alter its course, the rivers to cease to flow, or the dead to rise from their graves. If he does these things, you may then believe that he has been sent from God.....My Children, do not believe that the great and good Creator of mankind has directed you to destroy your own flesh; and do not doubt but that, if you pursue this abominable wickedness, His vengeance will overtake and crush you. The above is addressed

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*From Drake's "Life of Tecumseh."

to you in the name of the Seventeen Fires.* I now speak to you from myself, as a friend who wishes nothing more sincerely than to see you prosperous and happy. Clear your eyes, I beseech you, from the mist which surrounds them. No longer be imposed upon by the arts of an impostor. Drive him from your town, and let peace and harmony once more prevail among you. Let your poor old men and women sleep in quietness, and banish from their minds the dreadful idea of being burned alive by their friends and countrymen. I charge you to stop your bloody career; and if you value the friendship of your father, the President, if you wish to preserve the good opinion of the Seventeen Fires, let me hear by return of the bearer, that you have determined to follow my advice." The Governor's message was received with indifference and apparently made little impression.

Another horrible experience awaited the missionaries on the seventeenth of May. The baptized Indian, Thomas White Eyes, who had come with Charles Henry the year before, brought a large quantity of whiskey to the outskirts of the Christian village and the consequence was that a terrible carousal ensued. This lasted a number of days and nights, during which time one of the participants was killed. White Eyes and four of the wildest drunken savages, divested themselves of every shred of clothing and then rode into the mission settlement, with the most bloodcurdling yells. Two of them attempted to ride into Brother Kluge's house, and they might have succeeded had they not been kept back by two women hitting their horses on the head. At last the savages gave up the attempt. These and other brutalities filled the hearts of the missionaries and the children with fear and trembling. As soon as they could, they left the house and fled to the woods for safety. Brother Luckenbach, who had to stay behind to lock up the doors, and consequently was unable to go with the other fugitives at once, was discovered by one of the ruffians.

Let Brother Luckenbach tell the experience in his own words: "He demanded something to eat, but, told that the doors were all locked, and that there were no provisions at hand, except a

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*Seventeen Fires meant the seventeen States which then composed the Union.

little sour milk in the ante-room, he was apparently satisfied with this declaration. The Indian seemed satisfied with the milk. But after he had drunk it, he insisted that I accompany him to the drinking place. This was refused. The savage then declared that if I would not go freely, he would compel me to go. Having wrestled together for some time, and finding that he could not overpower me, he became enraged. Seizing a hatchet, he brandished it above my head and declared he would dash my brains out. I thought it the better part of valor to go with him.

"The savage, swinging his hatchet, came on behind, crying aloud that he had taken a white prisoner. A squaw tried to wrest the hatchet from him, but he was too strong. On reaching his party, consisting of about eight Delawares, who were lying around a keg of whisky, and among whom I recognized one Thomas White Eyes, who also knew me well, the drunken savage once more cried out: 'Here I bring a white prisoner!' Eyeing him sternly, White Eyes said to the ruffian: 'That is my friend! If you do him the least harm, you will get into trouble with me.' Turning to me, he quietly asked me to take a seat. Taking away the hatchet from the Indian, he handed it to me, and said to the Indian: 'We like to drink whisky; but he does not, and I will not permit you to compel my friend to do a thing that goes against him.' Then turning to me, he told me to go in peace, which I was only too glad to do. I then went to the woods whither Brother and Sister Kluge and the children had fled. Toward evening, the savages left the neighborhood and before nightfall, we returned home, where everything was found unmolested."

CHAPTER X

THE STATION ABANDONED AND THE JOURNEY FROM WHITE RIVER TO BETHLEHEM

The little congregation had dwindled down to but two Indian members, Theresa and Hannah, of whom the former continued faithful to the end, while Hannah seemed to think more of the honor of the heathen than the honor of God. Not having an interpreter since the cruel death of Joshua, the work of preaching the gospel was necessarily hampered. Nevertheless, the missionaries kept up the regular Sunday services until they left, even though the number of hearers was for the most part limited to the scriptural two or three gathered in the name of the Lord. During the early part of August, definite word was received from Bethlehem that they might leave the White River. In answer to this official communication, Brother Kluge wrote:

"Your letters of the twenty-first of May and twenty-ninth of June reached us at the same time. They came on the second of August, to our great joy and comfort, through Brother Luckenbach. I want to thank you most heartily, brethren of the Helpers' Conference, for your tender interest, your paternal care and faithfulness in our sorrowful condition. In your letter of the twenty-first of May, I learn that, under the guidance of the dear Saviour, our mission is given up for the time being, and that we shall leave the White River as soon as possible and move to Cincinnati, where Mr. Ziegler will look after our wants. We heartily wish that this might have taken place. But since Mr. Ziegler could not carry out your wishes, because, as he says, he had neither quarters for us nor a man with whom to send your letter, we are still at our old place, where we received your communication. Now, however, we will follow your directions to leave here at the earliest time, and we will proceed to the neighborhood of Cincinnati, where we will await your further decision.

"Although we earnestly longed to be called away from here, because of our dangers, I must confess that it is with a heavy

heart that I leave this post. When I remember the many difficulties, dangers and sorrows, with which we had to struggle all these years, and with how many tears and sighs we preached the atonement among these heathen, it is disheartening that our aim has not been realized after all. The poor heathen are still languishing in sin, reject the gracious gospel and, under no circumstances, want to yield themselves to Jesus; evidently they prefer to remain in the slavery of Satan. When I think of all this, my heart overflows with sadness, and I breathe one more prayer to the faithful Saviour for a gracious visitation upon this impenitent people. I cherish the fervent hope, that what we sowed in tears may some time bring forth fruit, and that in the end Christ may find, even in this nation, a reward for His sufferings.

"In your letter of the twenty-ninth of June, I see that you have been thinking of our future. In regard to the offer made to me and my wife, I would say that we have considered the matter carefully and find that we cannot accept your proposal, much as we would like to do so. The following reasons will explain our position in the matter: (1) It is difficult to find support for a family in Cincinnati; (2) Our sojourn there would be very expensive; (3) It is impossible to carry out your suggestion to go out from Cincinnati for the purpose of learning what other Indian nation might be found to which we could preach the gospel. It is very seldom that Indians come into the neighborhood of that city, and those that do so are Delawares. Apart from these, there live on the Wabash, and back of Fort Wayne, the Twechtowe, Pottawatimis, and the Kickapoos. These people are twice as far from Cincinnati as the Delawares, and never come there. Should I want to look for a suitable opening for the preaching of the gospel among these Indian nations, I would have to travel far and wide, and meanwhile my wife and children would be left to the mercy of strangers. Your plan might do for an unmarried man, but, under the circumstances, it is impossible for me to carry it out, much as I might wish to do so. Therefore, in my judgment, our sojourn in Cincinnati would be to no purpose.

"Apart from this, I can assure you that since we are here, I have learned a great deal about other Indian nations. The Dela-

wares are not the worst people when it comes to wildness, drunkenness and all other abominations. With the Chief of the Twechtowe or Miami nation I am well acquainted, have frequently preached to him the gospel of salvation, and often inquired if his people did not desire to have teachers come among them to preach the Word of God, and to teach them the way to eternal life. But unfortunately he always found objections to anything like this, and I have never been able to observe the least longing or desire in him or his people for the gospel.

"The few Shawnees who live in this neighborhood are for the present so carried away with their heathen teachers, that they do not want to hear anything but their foolish teaching. At the same time, they are full of suspicion against the white people. I must admit, that everything I have learned about the Indian nations mentioned and what I have ascertained from personal observation, gives me very little hope that the gospel would be received any sooner by them than by the heathen Delawares. And especially so because the Indian nations in this neighborhood are wholly given over to drunkenness. I therefore have confidence in you, dear brethren, that you will not think ill of us, because we cannot accept your proposition. We have no pleasure in it at all, for the reasons given above. We earnestly beg you to let us know as soon as possible, whether my family and I shall go to Goshen or come to you, because my wife is especially anxious to reach our destination before winter sets in.

"She humbly thanks you for your affectionate interest and sympathy. She wants me to assure you that any thought of her recovery is out of the question until she hears that we may leave for a place of safety. With the exception of Goshen, she would positively have no pleasure in going to another Indian congregation. It would be hard on her to travel about with three small children in the Indian country. She believes herself in duty bound to tell you exactly how she feels in the matter, and begs you not to think ill of her. She faithfully promises, in every other way, to be submissive to the will of the Saviour. With the hope that we will not have to stay over winter in the neighborhood of Cincinnati, we decided to sell our cattle, corn, furniture, house and everything else, and to keep our horses, which we need for the journey. Because we cannot get anything here for

our possessions except the wares of the trader, or horses, we have concluded to exchange them for pack-animals. We can use these to carry away our goods, and in this way we will be able to make our way to Goshen, where we can sell them."

Active preparations were at once begun to close up the mission. A trader was called in, and they agreed to let him have their cattle, horses, other live stock, some household goods, corn and other things in exchange for four good horses. This arrangement made rather expensive horses, but it was the best they could do under the circumstances. They made their preparations as secretly as possible, with the intention of announcing their departure just before they were to leave. But the Indians did not have to wait for a formal announcement. They learned quickly enough what was going on. The houses of the missionaries, half of their cattle and corn were immediately demanded. Old Hockingpomsga, the implacable enemy of the gospel, together with four kindred spirits, spent a whole night at the Christian village for no other purpose than to make the life of the missionaries miserable. They indulged in all sorts of fiendish suggestions and threats, one of them claiming that they were acting upon the advice of the President of the United States, who had authorized them to rob the whites who lived among them, and then to drive them off.

Hockingpomsga said: "I heard that you wanted to sell everything and to move away. That you intend to leave suits us perfectly. We never asked you to come, and we have long tried to get rid of you. We do not want you. The Indians do not need any one to tell them what to do and how to live. But you must not sell your houses nor anything made of wood, nor more than half of your corn and your cattle, because you have procured all that from our land." The missionaries were indignant and remonstrated, but it did them no good. The Indians became abusive and railed at missionaries in general and against Moravians in particular. When they told Hockingpomsga that he could have the houses, but that they would dispose of the rest as they pleased, he became angry and declared that he would forbid any trader to buy anything more than he had mentioned, and he would see to it, too, that the young Indians should keep a sharp lookout that his wishes were carried out. The

Chief of the young Indians was next appealed to, but he was still more unreasonable, so the missionaries had to yield to the unjust demands of the barbarians.

At last all preparations for their departure were completed, and they lost no time in leaving the place where, for five years and four months, they had sown in tears and reaped so sparingly. On the sixteenth of September, at high noon, they began their long, wearisome journey through the wilderness to Bethlehem. Four of the horses were laden with their goods, and on each of the other three was an adult with a child in his arms. An Indian guide had been hired to take care of the pack horses, but they had not proceeded far, when they learned that he was unequal to the task. They dismissed him and hired a Frenchman to guide them as far as Fort Hamilton. The following day they reached Woapicamikunk, where they found a heathen festival in full swing. They had no desire to stop there under the circumstances, but fearing they would not reach water before nightfall, they decided to stay at the home of a trader. They tried to sleep during the night, but this was impossible because of the terrible noise.

Early in the morning, a number of Indians called on them. One of them, the brother of the head captain, was extremely cordial, and said in parting: "Friends, I believe that your words are true, therefore, I hate to see you leave. At the same time I know that it is impossible for you to stay here any longer. There are too many Indians who hate you and your teaching. It seems as if the door was shut, so that the Word of God cannot penetrate the land of the Indians. For that I am sorry. But it will not be ever thus. The hostile Indians and their wicked Chiefs cannot live forever. The time may yet come when the Indians will want to hear the Word of God, and you will be called to return." Greatly encouraged by this friendly testimony and feeling that perhaps their strenuous labors had not been quite in vain after all, they assured their friend that they were indeed sorry to leave, and would be only too glad to return at any time, if there was a real desire on the part of the Indians for the Word of God. Thereupon they took their leave.

A narrow path led them into the wilderness. The horses could barely get past the brambles and bushes that tore the

faces of the missionaries and especially those of the children. Sister Kluge suffered a great deal because she had no hat. After they had gone their laborious way for four miles or so, they discovered that they were on the wrong path. Somebody had misdirected them. Crossing two large grass-covered plains, they again entered the woods. Here another trial awaited them. A large number of yellow jackets had built their nests in the middle of the path and sharply disputed the way, with some very stinging arguments, the force of which could not be denied. If a horse stepped into a nest, the result may be readily imagined. Surrounded with yellow jackets, and wild from their stings, the horses plunged into the bushes greatly to their own relief, but to the evident danger of the riders and children. In spite of it all, the pilgrims covered a distance of twenty miles a day.

At times food was very scarce. Occasionally they had nothing to eat but dried bread, and not much of that. On one occasion they were reduced to eating corn meal which the Frenchman had brought along for his dogs. Hazelnuts and wild plums were plentiful in places, and with these they managed to take off, at least, the edge of their ravenous appetite. But man's extremity is ever God's opportunity. When their food supply had been entirely exhausted, and there was apparently no other in sight, they were overjoyed to hear some one calling cattle home. Upon investigation, they found a family of friendly white settlers from whom they procured half a pail of butter milk, a piece of bread and a little pork. When within about twelve miles of Fort Hamilton, the French guide left them to shift for themselves, and returned home.

From here Brother Luckenbach went to Cincinnati, thirty-seven miles away. The object of his visit was to get the necessary money for the rest of the journey, some articles of clothing which had been sent there, and any letters which he might find for them. When he returned to the rest of the party, he had a letter from the Helpers' Conference, with definite instructions to come direct to Bethlehem. This piece of good news filled their hearts with exceeding great joy. While waiting for Brother Luckenbach's return, the Kluges were staying with a poor family living in a little house which combined bed-room and kitchen in one. Brother Kluge had the joy of being instru-

mental in leading to the Saviour a dying old man, to whose bedside he was called in the neighborhood. Here a little wagon was bought for sixty-five dollars, Brother Luckenbach giving his horse in exchange.

On the thirtieth of September, the journey was resumed. To their dismay they found one of their horses missing, as they were about to leave. Fortunately a man found it, but the transaction cost the missionaries three dollars. Their horses had been exchanged for such as were used to the harness. In many ways travel was made more difficult by a fearful drought, but, in other respects, this had its advantages. The waters of the Miami were so low that they could easily cross the stream in their little wagon. Drinking water was scarce. Some of the settlers had to bring it a distance of two miles, while they had to water their cattle still farther away.

By slow stages the pilgrims made their wearisome way eastward, passing through Chillicothe and crossing the Sciota. In this neighborhood they found a number of Germans whose children were unbaptized for want of a minister. They desired Brother Kluge to stay with them and become their pastor. Thence they went to Lancaster and in due time passed through Springfield and later through Zanesville. At the latter place they met a Kentuckian who was on his way to Shippensburg. Having no money, he offered to serve as their teamster as far as his destination. They gladly accepted the offer, and for his services provided him with the necessary sustenance on the way.

Several days later, they enjoyed the luxury of being entertained at a good German hotel. The hotel-keeper was well acquainted with the Moravians and had a number of friends among the Gnadenhuetten brethren. When he learned that the missionaries were anxious to send their pack horses to Gnadenhuetten, he volunteered to take them there himself, a distance of thirty miles. At Wheeling, they procured more money for their journey, a kindly Quaker merchant by the name of Updegraf being found willing to honor a bill of exchange on Gottfried Haga. Passing through Alexandria and Washington, they crossed the Dry Ridge, in due time reached Somerset and then Strasburg. From there they pushed forward by way of Carlisle and Elizabethtown, and finally, in the afternoon of the fifth of

November, they had the joy of catching their first glimpse of hospitable Lititz, so dear to their hearts. Friends and relatives received the weary pilgrims with open arms. Here they remained for about five days, when they once more resumed their journey, and at last, on the twelfth of November, they arrived at Bethlehem, where they were warmly welcomed by the Brethren. Thus ended their long journey extending over a distance of more than seven hundred miles.

But little more remains to be said. In some respects the work on the White River was unique. It enjoys the distinction of having been the first Protestant mission in Indiana Territory. As far as is known, there had been no Protestant missionaries so far west before. Hennepin, Marquette and others had made strong attempts to establish missions among the Miami, who originally occupied this region, but their efforts were even less fruitful than those of Kluge and Luckenbach. Even at that time the treacherous fire-water obstructed the progress of the gospel. The missionaries were always followed and frequently preceded by traders who exchanged their whisky for the furs and peltries of the Indians. It is not surprising, therefore, that conditions were still worse in the time of the Moravians.

Though other Moravian missions among the Indians had to be abandoned, none came to its end in the way the White River work had to be given up. At Shekomeko, New York, unscrupulous whites, finding that the progress of the gospel seriously hindered their liquor traffic with the Indians, stirred up false reports that the missionaries were Papists in disguise and secret emissaries of the French in Canada. Consequently the Assembly of New York imposed a license on "vagrant preachers, Moravians or disguised Papists" and demanded that the missionaries should swear allegiance to King George, which they declined to do on conscientious grounds. As a result, the mission had to be abandoned. Government interference likewise brought to an untimely end the flourishing little congregations of Gnadenhuetten and Pachgatgoch in Connecticut.

At Gnadenhuetten on the Mahoning the massacre of the whites by the Indians, and at Gnadenhuetten on the Muskingum the brutal slaughter of the Indians by the whites, broke up the mission congregations. There was nothing like this in connec-

tion with the end of the work on the White River. Here there was no government interference. On the contrary the government was in hearty sympathy with it. While it is true that Joshua and others were burned at the stake, this had nothing to do with the failure of the mission. At the time of the missionaries' departure, the little congregation had but two Indian members, of which one was even then more heathen than Christian. The mission, therefore, died a natural death. And yet, in spite of it all, the labors of the missionaries were not in vain. The Word of God has declared it. "They that sow in tears shall reap in joy. He that goeth forth and weepeth, bearing precious seed, shall doubtless come again with joy, bringing his sheaves with him." Though they saw little fruit of their hard toil on earth, we believe that they are seeing it now.

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY

OF

ABRAHAM LUCKENBACH

Translated from the German

By H. E. STOCKER

BIOGRAPHY OF BROTHER ABRAHAM LUCKENBACH.

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF AND LEFT FOR HIS DEAR CHILDREN.

Since at my already far advanced years of life the moment for closing my earthly pilgrimage might come quickly, and because I have been urged by good friends to make some memorandum of the circumstances of my life, I therefore consider it my duty not only to fulfill their wish, but principally to be found willing, to the praise and honor of my Lord and Saviour, to write down what may serve to increase His glory and exalt His grace in connection with my poor, unworthy being, and leave it behind me as a monument to His love and mercy.

I was born May 5, 1777, in Upper Saucon, Lehigh County, about nine miles from Bethlehem, Pa., where my father had bought a small estate upon which he sought to support himself by tanning and shoe-making. He made the acquaintance of the Brethren in Oley, when he learned his trade with Bro. Eschbach, who was at that time a member of the Brethren's Church and occasionally conducted meetings at that place.

My father had been a widower twice before he married my mother and had joined the Mennonite persuasion, therefore he was now, together with my mother, excluded from that communion, because she was a step-sister of the former wife. Such marriages are regarded as unlawful by this denomination. This caused my parents, who did not live far from Emaus, to attend the meetings of the Brethren at that place. They found a friendly reception at the hands of the minister, Bro. Franz Boehler, who was there at that time, and by whom I and my younger brothers were baptized. My baptism took place when I was one and three-fourths years of age, on January 19, 1779, and in this way I became a member of the Church of Christ. My parents, who were now separated from the Mennonite Communion, sought a more intimate acquaintance with the Brethren's Church. Here they had opportunity not only to attend her services but also to become familiar with her history. To be nearer to the Church, my father sold his well-appointed little place and in the year mentioned above, 1779, removed to the neighborhood of Bethlehem, where he took charge of a farm on the land of the Brethren. Subsequently he and my mother joined the Brethren's Church. When Bishop Reichel, of the U. E. C., made a visitation to North America, while he was at Bethlehem, he baptized three of my grown-up step-brothers and sisters in the Church auditorium, amid a powerful feeling of the gracious presence of the Holy Trinity and a special anointing from above, which made a blessed impression on the

whole congregation, and which was vividly remembered, in later years, by many who were present.

Because my mother died of hasty consumption, in the Spring of 1781, when but twenty-four years old, my father, a part of his family being still unreared, was compelled by circumstances to marry again. He therefore sought in marriage the hand of the single sister, Elizabeth Partsch, in the Sisters' House at Bethlehem, who proved herself to us, her step-children, a truly faithful mother. She took to heart in a special manner the bringing up of the two smallest children in the family. To this number my younger brother and I belonged, being three and four years old, respectively. To her we largely owed our later Chirstian training, which she could impart so much the better because she had been brought up in a children's institution. Nothing gave her more pleasure than when she saw that we made progress in our studies. Her instruction proved to be a great help to us. She sought to make our tender hearts receptive to the grace of God and to the nurture of the Holy Spirit. She took pains to teach us hymns and to sing with us. I received my first impression of the love of the Saviour when she taught me the verse: "O my dearly beloved little Jesus."

As I was frail by nature and therefore subject to colds, in the winter months, I generally had long and severe attacks of a convulsive cough, which compelled me to pass a great deal of my time in the house. Not until my eighth year was I quite free from this weakness. Since the Boys' School was at Bethlehem at this time, from about 1780-1785, I enjoyed instruction in that institution, as well as the blessing of the children's hour and the Church Days. On the last occasions we were addressed very edifyingly and impressively. The speaking of the children, which preceded, was superintended by the Brethren Jacob Van Vleck and Kramsch. This helped me to understand a great many things. The questions which were put to me on these occasions in regard to my state of heart and conduct, whether I loved the Saviour and lived in familiar intercourse with Him, made a deep impression upon my heart, and I could not forget them for a long time. They so quickened my conscience that I could not allow myself to do anything wicked without severe suffering.

Praise for my good conduct often came to my ears through my stepmother, who praised me to the rest of my brothers and sisters and set me up as an example for them. They had to be punished frequently. This was not necessary in my case because a sharp word would keep me in check. This gave me at an early time a too good opinion of myself. I came to the conclusion that I must be better than they, which occasioned ill feeling against me on their part. The Spirit of God, however, strove early with my heart and led me to humility, without which all other virtues have no value before God. To this end He made use of certain means to attain His purpose. For example, a prayer meeting was held on Children's Days of the congregation for those children who had reported themselves prepared to recite verses. These received the solemn assurance that the favor of attending this meeting was extended to them because

they belonged to the number of those who were worthy to worship the Saviour by prostrating themselves before Him. Since I, as well as my younger brothers, had reported myself as prepared to take part, it gave me a decided shock when they received permission to attend the prayer meeting and I had to stay at home, where I had to remain all alone in a room meanwhile. This humbled me before the Saviour and I burst into tears and begged Him earnestly, in my loneliness, to make me worthy of this favor and to receive me among the number of His children. After a while I felt comforted. In this way I had to learn even then, in the school of the Spirit of God, the truth which the Saviour so emphatically impressed upon His disciples, when He said: "Whosoever shall exalt himself shall be abased." The joy, however, was all the greater at the next Children's Day of the congregation, when I was told that I now had permission to take part in the worship. In that meeting I felt inexpressibly happy. Going to church and attending meetings gave me great joy at this time of my life, and especially did I find pleasure in the Christmas celebration, on which occasion my father took us by the hand and led us to church. He was always careful that we missed neither meeting nor school.

In the Spring of 1786 my parents removed to Hope, New Jersey, where they took charge of the congregational farm, which for us children had the drawback that we came in contact with strange, and for the most part worldly workmen. At such a place, especially in summer, all sorts of laborers had to be hired, so that much that was wicked was to be seen and heard, all of which had a bad influence on youthful minds. Very dangerous indeed would this situation have proved to me, if the inner voice of the grace of the Spirit of God had not continually labored with my heart, and if my parents had not kept a watchful eye upon me. I stood in great awe of my parents and especially of my father. This protected me from such evil to which I was abundantly exposed. Afterwards I was very thankful that he was so strict with his children, and the word of the apostle occurred to me when he said: "The law was our schoolmaster to bring us unto Christ."

Bro. Grube, who was the pastor of the congregation at that time, often spoke very forcefully with us in the children's hour, as well as in individual interviews before the children's days of the congregation, concerning the love of the Saviour and the need of yielding the heart to Him. He insisted that every one of us should make a covenant with the Saviour that we would be His possession. At one time when he spoke with me, he made me promise with a hand-shake, that I would go apart by myself and fall down on my knees before the Saviour and beseech Him to forgive all my sins of disobedience and indifference, and make a covenant with Him to be and ever remain His very own. This in my bewildered state of heart threw me into great confusion, because I had never before turned to the Saviour, in such a solemn manner, in prayer. In accordance with my promise, I sought out a lonely place and knelt down, although not with-

out the greatest timidity and bashfulness, which undoubtedly arose from estrangement from God, and which brought with it something distressing. Meanwhile I prayed, as well as I could, to the Saviour to forgive me the manifold sins and transgressions with which I had given sorrow to Him and my parents and those over me. I arose very happy and cheerful and comforted myself greatly that the Saviour would now be graciaus unto me, because I had kept my promise and done my duty.

During the first year of my stay at Hope, the school was conducted by the minister of the congregation and limited to three or four hours each day. It was therefore very desirable to me and beneficial too, as well as to the other pupils, when, in the year 1787, we received a separate school teacher in Bro. Chr. Till, to whom I went until my fourteenth year and made better progress than ever before.

On January 9, 1789, at the celebration of the Boys' Festival, I was received into that choir, and on the following first of June, my reception into the congregation took place. This made me think deeply, especially so because my step-mother frequently directed my thoughts to my state of heart and encouraged me to persevere in order to prepare myself for the enjoyment of the Holy Communion, the favor of witnessing which I was to enjoy, as a candiate, the following October. I was to partake of this great good for the first time, on January 16, 1790. This proved to be a blessing never to be forgotten. I had been prepared for it shortly before and confirmed by Bro. Ludwig Boehler, minister of the congregation at that time. I now had ever increasing opportunity to learn what sort of a child I was spiritually. Good and evil inclinations alternated within me. "To will was present with me, but how to perform that which was good, I found not." Of temptations to go astray there was no lack, and since I was the only one among my companions who went to Holy Communion, I frequently had to suffer at their hands, when I disapproved of their wicked actions and held back from them. On the other hand, I could not escape their sharp criticism if I permitted myself to commit some wrong. Although strong appeals were made to my heart, at that time, through the impressive sermons and addresses by the minister of that day, Bro. Ludwig Boehler, which brought me great distress of heart, and although I strove to live a life well-pleasing to God, I became more and more conscious of the power of sin within me, and often painfully felt that in my heart no good thing dwelt, and that if I could follow my inclinations unpunished, it would speak badly for me.

The feeling of sinfulness and the anguish on account of it was stirred up especially before partaking of the Holy Communion, because a sharp self-examination was urged and the worthy and unworthy partaking, according to the words of the Apostle Paul in I Cor. 11:27-29, brought into consideration. Since my walk was more legal than evangelical, and my consciousness of sin made me very timid toward the Saviour and my pastor, I would not go without fear, almost bordering on terror, to the service preparatory to the Holy Communion. The thought often arose in my mind, whether it would not be better for me, for the time being, to stay

away entirely, and to postpone the enjoyment thereof until I had bettered myself, because I believed that the Lord's Supper had been instituted for such only as had attained to a certain degree of holiness, which I had not yet reached, and had therefore undertaken too soon to go to the table of the Lord. The good Spirit, in whose school I was, did not allow this, however, and I continued, although with a feeling of uneasiness, to attend every Communion without interruption. Although I did not at that time rightly understand the words: "This is the body of the Lord given for you," nevertheless the partaking of Communion proved to me a strong means of preservation from transgression and from the sin dwelling within me, and gave the Spirit of God opportunity, by means of the frequent heart-searchings appointed before the enjoyment of the Holy Communion, to reveal to me, more and more, my great spiritual weakness.

My father had an attack of dropsy from which he suffered for more than a year. On this account he could seldom leave the house, and I was left too much to myself among the laborers. Being in my fifteenth year, arrangements were made before he passed away, to send me to Bro. Franz Thomas at Bethlehem, to learn the trade of cabinet-maker. After taking leave of my sick father with a feeling of sadness on both sides, knowing full well that I would never again see him in this life, I made my way by sleigh to Bethlehem, during the latter part of January, 1792.

I now found myself under good oversight, since I labored in the workshop with my master during the day and spent the rest of my time in the boys' room in the Brethren's House. It gave my parents no little distress to have me leave them in a half-deaf condition, which was brought about by my contracting a cold while skating on the ice. It was extremely doubtful whether I would ever regain my hearing, since all means tried to effect a cure had proved fruitless. It was not an easy thing for me to go to a strange place and live among unfamiliar faces. I frequently sighed in secret to the Saviour to restore my hearing, and sure enough, several months after, applying a plaster to my back, which was covered with ulcers that almost paralyzed me completely, my prayer was heard. I found to my great joy that my hearing was perfectly restored, and I never again lost it. With a special feeling of gratitude, I was now able to attend the meetings and understand the sermons and addresses delivered by Bro. Klingsohr, who was the minister at that time. These were very impressive to me and more and more possessed my heart and soul so that I began to feel that there was no higher state on earth than to become a transformed human being, by the grace of God, and to follow the Saviour unmoved, in simplicity and humility.

After I had spent a number of years in learning my trade, my master turned over the greatest part of the work to me, because he filled the office of cicerone, which at times engaged all his attention. This, however, helped me to make more rapid progress in my trade, because everything was entrusted to me. Consequently I had to take more pains and be more diligent to do that which was needful for the finishing of the desired

work. As I did not lack ambition to equal others and even to excel them, my master was usually not only very well satisfied with my work, but occasionally praised it in my presence, comparing it with that of others, and extolling my skill. This exerted a hurtful influence on my youthful mind and deluded me into thinking that I knew more than my master. Consequently I was not always ready to follow his instructions as my circumstances and duty demanded, and he had to reprimand me frequently so that I had to be ashamed. I found myself in a quite different position during the years of my apprenticeship than formerly. Quite different from the many diversions to which I was exposed at home, I now spent most of my time alone in the workshop, so that my mind took on a more quiet and thoughtful turn. This caused me to meditate on subjects which led to brooding and gave me many a dark hour. I heard many things in the meetings and read others in the Holy Scriptures, concerning which I would have liked more clearness, but I was too bashful to reveal my trouble or to ask the necessary questions in regard to it. Consequently, I was often filled with doubt and unbelief which caused me great fear. At the same time I was astonished to find anything like this lurking in my heart. Formerly I could believe anything with a child-like faith, no matter what was told me concerning the Saviour and what was heard in the meetings. Now, however, my heart was full of questions. I consequently asked myself: "Can you prove all these things which you consider to be God's truth? If not, then your whole hope rests on human ideas." Without properly recognizing at that time the fiery darts of Satan and realizing what his purpose was, I permitted myself to deal in sophistry. But I was always driven from the field and had to learn that no amount of reasoning was sufficient to drive doubt and unbelief from the heart; that it sooner made it worse.

In this school I learned the truth that faith in the Saviour and in His divine Work is a gift of grace and that, in one's own strength, no one can believe in Him or come to Him. Meanwhile I did not remain unattacked in other ways, and I constantly besought the Saviour to cleanse my heart from all iniquity and to give me the assurance of the forgiveness of sins, which I had often read about in the lives of other children of God. Since the prayer, to my mind, remained unanswered, and this gave me much sorrow, I revealed my trouble to my pastor, who very lovingly comforted me and helped me. He assured me that in no wise did the fault lie with the Saviour that my prayer was not answered, nor with His willingness to give me the assurance that it was heard, but that my distrustful and doubting heart was the reason that I could not be comforted. This also became clear to me in the future, and I rejoiced over the knowledge in the presence of my Saviour. Meanwhile, however, I still remained in a distressed state of heart over my condition, because I usually reverted to myself and my sinful misery, and there I stopped. Instead of bringing the matter, in a childlike manner, to the Saviour, and acknowledging Him as my Physician and Helper, I sought to help myself on false grounds. This

spoiled for me many an otherwise happy hour and made it impossible for me to rejoice in the salvation of Christ. It also gave me a troubled conscience which was still under the law. (I had not as yet learned that the Saviour cannot help until we have come to the end of our self-help and give Him alone the glory.)

In my childhood I had made a small beginning with learning music, which gave me great pleasure. But I did not continue with it at that time, because the matter was left in my hands. Since I had to take pains, I soon lost all inclination for it. Now, however, I found great encouragement in the Brethren's House to take up music, and consequently I spent most of my spare time in studying it under the leadership of my choir-leader, Bro. J. F. Frueauff. This pleasantly engaged my thoughts and preserved me from many distractions.

In the year 1795, August 29, I was admitted into the Single Brethren's choir, whereby I gained more freedom. I could now choose my own companions and go my own ways. More than ever before, I now needed the inner guidance of the Spirit of God to keep me from wrong paths and from the broad way of liberty which opened before me, and upon which I saw many walk. It pleased me very much that such did not desire me in their company, because I was too conscientious to suit them. They knew well enough that I could not fall in with their way of looking at matters and indulge in the things which gave them pleasure. This caused me to seek the companionship of the steadier and more sensible brethren, which brought me much edification and blessing for my heart. The opposite choice would have led to unrest and unhappiness.

In May, 1797, when I was twenty years old, my master declared me free, since he had had another apprentice for some time. Consequently I spent the summer until fall in another workshop, where I found work and good wages. At that time a proposition was made me to begin a cabinet shop in the Brethren's House at Nazareth. For this reason I went there before the end of the year. At the beginning of the new year and throughout the winter, I was busy helping with the inside carpenter work of a new store-building which was put up at that time. After carefully counting the cost, nothing came of the plan to have a cabinet shop in the Brethren's House, and I had no objections to offer. At this time there was a vacancy in the teaching-force at Nazareth Hall and the position was offered to me. I accepted, though with much hesitancy, because of the consciousness of my imperfections, yet in obedience and reliance on the help of the Lord. During the beginning of March I moved into the third room to dear, worthy old Bro. David Moritz Michael, and I had the pain, during the first week, of witnessing the death of a boy from this room. I found myself in an entirely new sphere. In the beginning, I had no intention of giving myself permanently to this service, but intended later on to return to my trade. It was not long, however, before I came to the decision to yield myself entirely to the guidance of the Saviour. Since I had but a common-school education, I fully realized that I would find it necessary to employ all my

time to attain the necessary qualifications for my work. Outside of my school hours, my chief effort was the study of the sciences and the practice of music. I resolved to learn as much as possible, for which reason I laid the nights under contribution, and barely took sufficient exercise for my health.

Once in a while, when I did not make the desired progress in spite of all my efforts, discouragement seized me. This was largely due to my self-love and ambition. The desire for higher learning and knowledge tortured me so much that I envied others who had been able to spend their earlier years in acquiring them, or in gaining an education. By means of diligent efforts, I succeeded in making considerable progress in the study of the most necessary common-school branches and in gradually becoming more efficient as a teacher. Many of my good friends, including the Inspector, Bro. Carl Gotthold Reichel, advised me, for my own good, to seek the society of others more frequently, because in this way I would hear all sorts of subjects discussed and criticized, and I would gain more useful knowledge than if I would confine myself too much to books. This I found true and my disposition became more cheerful and companionable.

The reading of various writings of Count Zinzendorf, at that time, led me to a careful examination of the inclinations and impulses which stirred within me, and I learned that in spite of all my efforts to live according to the holy law of God and to fulfill the spiritual meaning thereof, I still lacked strength, and the truth of the words of the Apostle Paul: "To be carnally minded is enmity toward God," became painfully clear to me. I was tortured by feelings of unworthiness, and became more and more conscious of my deep depravity of body and soul. I learned that all thoughts of the human heart were sinful before God. Since I could not rid myself of self-love, thirst for honor and self-interest in spite of all my efforts, I therefore felt a more or less condemning or guilty conscience before God. But the Holy Spirit, who had brought me into this state in which I felt the depth of my sinfulness, did not allow me to sink into utter despair. He gave me, from time to time, the comfort of Jesus' suffering and dying, which source of strength I now began to treasure greatly, and He brought to my mind repeatedly the verse, which says: "If I weep for salvation in His loving presence, it is already proof that He stands before me." It became ever more clear that it was my highest duty to consecrate my life to Him who gave Himself for me; that it was impossible for me to find, in the things of this world, any rest for my poor, languishing soul, and that he who gained the greatest number of earthly possessions must reap the greatest disappointment in the end. I, therefore, abandoned all great plans and ambitious thoughts and became content with such things as I had. My short-comings and mistakes made me rejoice more than ever in God my Saviour. The longer I was at it, the more devoted I became to teaching. My teaching days were the pleasantest of my life.

Gladly would I have spent a much longer time in this work had it been the will of God to use me further in this service. But He had decided on

another field for me, of which I had thought but little thus far. At the same time, I had not been without premonitions before the communication of Bro. David Zeisberger came from the Muskingum, saying that a door had opened to enter the land of the Delaware Indians, who at present lived on an arm of the Wabash, called the White River, and that a number of brethren were needed for this service, who knew how to help themselves and how to get there alone. In the beginning of September, 1800, I received the call, therefore, as a single brother, to accompany Bro. and Sr. J. P. Kluge to the Indian country, after first spending the winter on the Muskingum and then from there continue the journey, in company with some Indian families, by water or land, to the land of the Indians.

This call cut deep, because I had only spent two and a half years in my very agreeable calling as a teacher, which was very pleasant indeed to me, so that, when I consulted with flesh and blood, I lacked joy in accepting the appointment. At the same time, after many a hard struggle and sleepless night, I could not put the matter aside. I finally decided to take this important matter to the Lord in prayer and to beseech Him to give me joy either one way or the other, as I would be ready to follow His signal, if He really had called me to this service, unfitted though I felt myself to be for it. When I arose from prayer, I took up the hymn book in front of me and found, in answer to my petition, a verse which peculiarly filled my need. This verse which was so suitable to my condition and so comforting, I took as a signal from the Lord's hand, showing that He desired me to enter the service which He had pointed out to me. After that I was satisfied. This became the root of my life-long destiny and never after amid heavy trials, did I have any regrets, for I was always sure that the Lord had determined my lot for me, and that it was for me to endure it and to regard it as a favor to be considered worthy of it.

Bro. Gottlob Reichel, the minister at Nazareth and the Inspector of the Boys' School, took great interest in the spread of the gospel among the heathen, and rejoiced that in a short time four brethren had gone forth from the Hall as missionaries among the North American tribes. For this reason, he presented me with a copy of Loskiel's Mission History of the North American Indians, which I now read with great interest and in this way passed the remaining time pleasantly. During the latter part of September, I closed my labors at Nazareth Hall and made my way to Bethlehem, where Bro. J. P. Kluge and I were in a solemn manner ordained and consecrated as deacons of the Brethren's Church, October 15, by Bishop Koehler, of Salem, who was at Bethlehem at the time, being on his way to Europe. I was still more strengthened, and deeply resolved: "What soul and body can accomplish, I will do with all my heart, to His honor and praise."

After the necessary preparations for the journey had been made and we had been commended to the gracious protection of the Lord, in the congregational meeting of the evening before, we left, October 19, on our journey from Bethlehem to Lititz, travelling in a baggage-wagon. The weather was very unpleasant. At Lititz, we remained a number of days in

the midst of the dear congregation and enjoyed much love, whereupon we proceeded on our journey by way of Mannheim, Harrisburg, Carlisle, and Shippensburg, where we reached the Blue Mountains, the way leading over large rocks and rough roads. In company with other freight-wagons, we at last reached the other side of the Allegheny Mountains, which proved still more rocky and steep. A very durable wagon was needed to stand the hard knocks. In company with the other teams, everything passed off pleasantly until the night we reached Pittsburg, where we struck a very bad hotel. We did not find out how bad, however, until it was too late. Because the landlord himself was a worldly man and a free-lance, and welcomed bad company, the Pittsburg teamsters made his hotel a loafing-place. After we had retired for the night, the uproar in front of the house began. There were drunken yells, cursing and fighting, and finally the tumult was transferred to the inside of the hotel, where the smashing of tables and chairs and threats to set fire to the building ensued. Finally they began to dance, the landlord whistling for it and leading the dancing. The chief offender was, to our great amazement, a teamster who had travelled with us for four or five days and, in our company, acted in a very retiring and quiet manner. Here, however, he had met with a man against whom he had a grudge and had challenged him to fight. He became so unruly and terrible, and raged about with such blood-curdling oaths that it seemed as if he was possessed with evil spirits. If the night had not been so dark, we would have left with our team. The most astonishing thing of all was to see this man, who had disturbed us all night with his terrible cursing, and who had behaved as if he was wild, seat himself at the table with us, in the morning, the same quiet and retiring person he was the day before, just as if he knew nothing whatever of what had happened, and as before, he silently travelled with us for the rest of the way to Pittsburg.

From the last place, we drove for forty miles down along the Ohio River to Georgetown, where we had to leave a part of our baggage or chests, because the road from here to the Muskingum had been but recently cut open, and besides was very hilly and but little travelled. (At this time there were as yet no white people in this region.) After we had lodged in the woods for three nights, we reached the Oneleg Creek, by the Indians called Gutgatsink, about twenty-one miles from the Muskingum. Here, to our great joy, we met Indians from Goshen on the Muskingum, with a letter from the Brethren Zeisberger and Mortimer. The Indians had been sent to meet us, but at the same time they had been here for bear-hunting. This company consisted of the old Indian Chief Gelelemend, or as afterwards called, William Henry Kilbuck, and his three sons, John, Charles and Gottlieb, who all welcomed us. Their friendly faces, in their hunter's lodge, constructed of tree branches and covered with bark, was a welcome sight to us, and aroused in me a great affection for them. I felt at once that I could be at home among these people, all the more because they made us feel their brotherly love and showed us every imaginable courtesy. When we were about ten miles from the Muskingum River,

having reached Stillwater Creek or Gegelemakpechink, we left our freight-wagon and sent it to Gnadenhuetten, while we followed on horses after the Indian Chief, William Henry Kilbuck, who, as our guide, rode on a horse ahead of us. He led us to Goshen, often through brushes and brambles, and we had to be on our guard not to be caught by them, because he rode so fast. After some hours of riding, we arrived safe and sound at Goshen, November 19, to our and to our white and Indian brethren's joy, and with a deep feeling of gratitude to our dear Lord for His gracious protection and safe guidance on our four weeks' journey. We were affectionately welcomed by the dear Brethren D. Zeisberger and Mortimer and the small Indian Congregation, consisting of about fifty souls.

We were quartered in a small log-house about ten feet square, but as the sleeping-room was not large enough, I found my lodging for the night with Bro. and Sr. Zeisberger, whose house, like that of Bro. and Sr. Mortimer, was about fifteen feet square. The chimney or fire-place was constructed of laths and clay, by means of which the whole room or house, which had no partitions, could be heated. The settlement was laid out but two years previously, therefore the furnishings of the house were of the scantiest. Bedsteads and chairs there were none. What there was of furniture had been made from rough boards with the aid of augur and broad-axe. The bed was made of boards and the table and seats consisted of trestles, or logs with holes bored into them and wooden legs inserted. While eating, the last named were indeed precious pieces of furniture in this home. The fire-wood, of which there was a great deal in the neighborhood, had to be chopped into blocks and split and then brought on a wheelbarrow or sled to the house, since there was no other means at hand of carrying it. The Indian women brought their fire-wood on their backs, to which they tied it with straps, or on their heads, or even had it hang down from their foreheads, which in the beginning not only seemed pitiful to me, but it astonished me to notice what heavy loads they carried in this manner.

As far as the mode of life of the Indian brethren is concerned, on the whole, one was reminded of the primitive condition of men, when art and science were still hidden in the background and only necessity received the preference, and one knew nothing of luxury and conveniences. The Indian mode of living is very simple. The possessions of a well-to-do family—and many do not have that much—consist of a number of horses and perhaps an equal number of cows, a number of pigs, and a number of dogs, which serve them while hunting. Their farming is for the most part limited to two or three acres of corn for each family. At that time, the land was usually worked with the hoe. The work of the field, together with the harvesting of the corn, the crushing of it in a mortar and the baking of it into bread, and the bringing of the fire-wood is regarded as woman's work, with which young men, who regard themselves as hunters, will not readily have anything to do. Their houses usually consist of small log-huts, about 14-15 feet square, with a chimney from the rafters up, and below an open fire-place, so that their beds may be brought on

both sides of it and all in the house may have free access to it. Their beds are covered with deer or bear-skins and with a number of woolen blankets, which also serve as clothing, the former serving them during the day, as seats, and at night as their bed. The household utensils consist of a number of copper or brass kettles, iron pans, wooden bowls, tin-pails and dippers. For eating they usually employ a knife only, their fingers serving them as forks. Their food is very simple and generally consists of corn-bread, corn or bean-soup boiled with or without meat. For corn-soup, the corn is first crushed into small pieces. As a general thing they eat but two regular meals a day. At the same time, if they have it, the kettle of soup hangs over the fire all day long, from which any visitor who is hungry, as well as the children of the family may help themselves at will. At this time, hunting was still very good in that region, since this neighborhood had only been opened up a few years before and inhabited by white people; also because it had been abandoned by the Indian Nations sixteen or eighteen years ago, so that the wild game, especially bear, was very plentiful in the mountainous region between the Muskingum and Ohio Rivers, and by our Indian brethren hunted with success.

There was therefore no lack of meat among them at that time. On the other hand, bread was scarce, because bread-flour and even corn had to be brought from the Ohio River, from sixty to seventy miles away. I soon became convinced that it was not comforts which one enjoyed that gave one a quiet and contented heart, for in spite of wants with which these people were surrounded, one found no anxious care nor heard sullen complaints among them They seemed to be content with what they had and were patient in their bearing. The meetings were usually well attended and the Word of God listened to with attention, in spite of the fact that progress in obedience to the Word was slow, as well as in the putting aside of many heathen customs and especially of the vice of drinking, so common among them. All this called for much patience and forbearance among them. Because there was thus far no printed literature in the Delaware language, with the exception of a spelling-book, I busied myself as much as possible with copying Bro. D. Zeisberger's Delaware translations of a collection of hymns and liturgies, besides the Delaware grammar which was at hand, and, in addition, sought to learn as much as possible of the language. I soon learned, however, that it would require much labor and study, besides verbal intercourse, before I could master the language, because the dialects and the construction of the language were so different from other tongues. Very agreeable and interesting it was to me to make the acquaintance of the old, venerable Missionary, David Zeisberger, who was then in his eightieth year; to enjoy intercourse with him and to hear him relate his many experiences among the Indians and the remarkable assistance of God in connection with them.

Simplicity of heart, childlikeness and trust in the Lord under all circumstances, besides patient perseverance, was what sustained him by the grace of God. Self-interest, and anything that had nothing to do with the honor of God and the spread of His kingdom, went against him and he would

not listen to such things. The opportunity which at this time offered itself to take the gospel to the Indian country and to the many Indians baptized in former times, who since the dispersion of the Indian congregation, in the year 1782, were living among the heathen, or to individual Indians who had not found their way back again into the Indian congregation, but who were now to be hunted up again and given a chance to return,—this was a theme which inflamed his heart hungering for souls, as often as it was talked about. In spite of his great age, he would have gladly gone to the Indian country himself, and he would have overcome the difficulties connected with the undertaking with a joyful heart and trust in the Lord, if circumstances had allowed him to go.

Although the invitation, extended to the Indian congregation at Goshen, to come and live among their country-men on the White River, opened the door to take the gospel into the Indian country, there was still lack of positive evidence that the Indian brethren would be permitted to bring their teachers with them. Bro. D. Zeisberger, therefore, sent two young Indian brethren, namely, Charles Henry Kilbuck and Jacob Pemcholind, with a message to the Delaware Chiefs on the White River. They left for their destination after the Epiphany festival on January 6, 1801, and returned during the middle of February after having traversed a distance of six hundred miles on foot. They reported that the Goshen Indians would be welcome to bring their teachers along, and that a separate place, lying between the Indian towns, would be given for the new settlement. They further reported that the White River Indians would come and meet them with horses, after they had reached the end of their water-journey down the Ohio River. After this report had been delivered, canoes were built, and a very large one for the missionaries, so that we could put all our chests and boxes into it. Two Indians went along to paddle our canoe. Four Indian families with four canoes, all together thirteen persons, accompanied us.

After we were quite ready for the journey and we had taken a hearty farewell from our dear white and brown brethren at Goshen, we set out, on high waters, and floated down the Muskingum River. In this way we proceeded rapidly and after a night spent with our brethren at Gnadenhuetten, reached the Ohio River a number of days later. The weather was still cold. The swollen waters of the Ohio helped us forward rapidly, although, after the manner of Indian travel, it was often quite late in the day before we could proceed with our journey. We also had to stop frequently to shoot game, as there were still long stretches of woods on both sides of the river. At Cincinnati, which was still in its infancy and consisted of about six stores and several hotels, and had no court-house as yet, we met a good friend by the name of Major Ziegler, who at that time and later rendered us many services. He formerly served in the American Revolution under General Wayne, but he had built a store and was now in business. He offered to look after our letters and money matters and to furnish us with other necessary articles.

From here we journeyed twenty-five miles farther, until we reached the mouth of the Big Miami River, which we went up for seven miles until we reached the mouth of White Water Creek, and thence up that stream for about eighteen miles until we came to the second arm thereof, where our water-journey ended. Here we landed, April 15, unloaded our things and erected a camp in the neighborhood of the frontier-line of the Indian country, about eighty miles from the Indian villages on the White River, where we wanted to go. Since we could no longer use our canoes, we left them with a number of white people who had recently settled in this wild region, and who had helped us up the White Water stream. Before we took leave of the inhabitants of this neighborhood, who had settled about eight miles up this little stream, we purchased several milch-cows and also provided ourselves with some flour and corn for the journey, through the woods, which now lay before us. From here, too, we sent a messenger to the White River to announce to the Delaware Chiefs that we had now reached the landing place in our travels and awaited their promised help. The messenger came back, however, with the unpleasant tidings that the Indian Chiefs had gone to Post Vincennes to a council with Governor Harrison, and the hunters had not yet returned with their horses from the winter's hunt, though the latter were expected soon. There was therefore no help to be expected at an early time from that quarter, and now the school of patience began, for thus far everything had gone quite easily by water, since we could get along nicely with our boxes and baggage in the canoe. In the evening, we would draw near land, tie our canoe, and then erect our tent on the banks for the night. In the morning we would enter the canoe again and proceed on our journey.

Now, however, we saw no way of forwarding all our things and chattels without pack-horses. How gladly we would have unburdened ourselves somewhat, if we could only have done so without loss! So as not to remain at our landing-place, our Indian brethren offered to take the lightest of our things, five miles farther, on their backs and there erect a tent. Nevertheless, one could easily see that this could not continue any length of time, in spite of their great willingness. With the help of a horse found in the woods, which had been brought in by one of the hunters, all of our things were in this way conveyed five miles farther, in three days, but the courage of the Indian brethren began to sink when they saw that their strength was not equal to the task, and that the provisions would not last at that rate.

After we had spent many days under these conditions, and had at last moved forward ten miles, quite unexpectedly an Indian came to us with a number of horses. He was the brother of our Indian Sister Mary, Jacob Pemcholind's wife, who was our traveling companion. This gave us hope that we would after all be helped in some things, but when it came to the point, he declared that he would allow Sr. Kluge a horse on which to ride, but otherwise he would only help his sister and her husband, for which purpose he had come. Meanwhile, five more miles were covered in this

way, so that we had proceeded fifteen miles in all but had consumed two weeks and a half, without any prospects that we would receive help from the Indian Chiefs. Since our provisions were rapidly disappearing, for though we had no lack of wild game and meat, it was feared that there would be a corn and bread famine before we would reach the end of our journey, we resolved to try and secure horses from traders. Just as we were about to move forward another five miles, I was asked to make my way, in company with a savage Indian by the name of Wangomind, who had joined our party, to the Indian village of Woapicamikunk or the so-called White Grave, and procure pack-horses from the Indian traders.

Lightly clad and with a blanket, in which I had wrapped my provisions, fastened by a strap to my shoulders and hanging down my back, with rapid strides, I followed my guide with his gun on his shoulder and tomahawk and knife at his side and a piece of dried deer meat hanging over his shoulder. He looked very friendly and took pains to please me, and prided himself not a little that I reposed such great confidence in him as to trust myself to his guidance. Since he believed me to be in a great hurry to arrive at my destination, without stopping once, he ran over the trail, through water standing in dells, which were all full on account of the excessive rains, up to the knees. At first, I picked my way over old logs or fallen trees so as to keep dry, but having lost sight of my guide a number of times, and having to strain myself very much to catch up with him again, I learned by experience not to spare either myself or my clothing, and followed him right through the water everywhere, and saw that in this way I could keep up with him. This pleased him greatly, feeling that I had already learned this much from him. Since I could not speak with him, and he desired to make a halt, he pointed with his finger to the sun to announce to me that it was dinner-time. He cut off several pieces of his dried venison, and in a very friendly manner offered me one of them, which I did not refuse, and handed him in return, a piece of my bread, which he took with loud approval. After we had smoked a pipe together, we proceeded on our journey. Along the trail at various intervals, we found hunters' huts made from the bark of trees, which served the hunter with shelter, but which were now forsaken. In one of them we found quarters for the night and dried our clothing. Next day toward evening, we reached the first Indian village, after having covered a distance of 60-65 miles. Here we met a trader by the name of John Connor, whose father formerly belonged to the Indian congregation on the Muskingum. Willing as he seemed to be to help us in our trouble, it was very discouraging to have come all this long way in vain, because he told me that all his pack-horses, laden with furs, had been sent to Fort Wayne several days previous, and that he knew of no horses to be had from the Indians, since they were still off on their hunting-grounds. But he said he would do what he could for us. As he was at the point of going out, a respected Indian, with his family, and a number of horses, arrived, and, upon being asked where he was going, he said that he was about to meet

his father-in-law, Jacob Pemcholind, since he had heard that the travellers had need of horses. Mr. Connor thought, and I, too, was of the opinion, that we might be helped, and accordingly began my return journey at once, in company with the Indian and his horses.

On the second day after we left Woapicamikunk we reached the rest of the party. But, to our no little terror and sorrow, we met here a company of Delaware Indians, who were on their way home from the settlement of the white people, where they had exchanged their skins and furs for whisky, which they had loaded, in small barrels, on their horses and were now in the act of bringing to the Indian village to sell. The liquor traffic is lucrative among them because the Indian will give the last of his possessions for whisky. We soon saw a sorrowful scene that we could not escape. Not only the heathen Indians with us, but, with the exception of several, our own as well, seated themselves around the whisky and a two-day's carousal ensued, in connection with which the air resounded with terrible yelling, by day and by night. We kept ourselves out of the way of it by hiding a short distance away. How sad and discouraging this occurrence was for us, especially here in the woods among these people, one may readily imagine! And it was but a foretaste of the state of the people to whom we had come to preach the gospel. The Lord, however, who had called us to this undertaking, sustained our courage and strength of body and soul, and enabled us to continue our journey trustfully. After everybody had become sober again, the packing up was begun.

But we soon learned that in our expectation of help we had deceived ourselves, because this Indian said what the other had told us before him, namely, that he had no pack-horse for us, that he had come with the sole intention of assisting his father-in-law, Jacob Pemcholind. Nevertheless, we secured a horse from each of them. Upon these we could forward the lightest of our baggage, while the rest, still about five horse loads, had to be left behind under guard of an Indian family. Thus, on May 2, after having spent nearly five weeks in the woods, we brought our two cows and the lightest things at last to the first Indian village, Woapicamikunk. We had consumed all our provisions with the exception of one loaf of bread. This Bro. and Sr. Kluge shared with me, when I returned from here, with five pack-horses and one of our Indians, to get our things which were left behind, about fifty miles away. Bro. and Sr. Kluge, together with the Indians who had preceded us, made their way down the White River from Woapicamikunk to a green spot on the river, twenty miles away, and within three miles of Anderson Town. This was the place which had been designated for our settlement. In about six or seven days I arrived there too, very tired and half-starved, and found them under the shelter of bark-covered huts. We rejoiced together that we had at last reached the end of our journey of weeks, and thanked our dear Lord, who had brought us safely thus far and had kept us well and happy in spite of the many difficulties connected with our journey. On the right bank of the river, on an elevation surrounded by dense woods, we erected our dwelling. We lacked nothing more, at this time, than a number of good axe-men to help us

make a clearing and to build houses or good log-huts. But it was the beginning of June and consequently late for planting as it was, therefore the first thing to be done was to get some corn and garden vegetables into the ground. To this end the plains, which lay opposite our place and which had rich soil and were overgrown with high grass, served a good purpose. We mowed down the grass and got into the ground with the hoe and planted the necesary field and garden vegetables. There were no fences, but these were not so necessary, in the beginning, while the Indian brethren had no cattle.

Among the Indian brethren who had come with us from Goshen and who desired to build here, there were but two who could handle the axe well. These two were therefore useful to us in building, first of all, a summer hut, and in covering it over with the bark of trees, as well as later, during the summer months, in felling trees and getting them in shape for a winter house for us. These were our interpreter Joshua and a helper by the name of John Thomas. Articles of food were very expensive and rare, because flour had to be brought through the woods, on the horses of the traders, from the nearest settlement of the white people, which was eighty miles away from the Miami River and White Water stream, so that flour sold to us cost six dollars a hundred. During the first summer, corn was sold for two dollars a bushel among the Indians and even at that price could scarcely be had. The latter article, however, has to be reckoned according to the Indian value of silver buckles, so that the sum is not equivalent to that amount in money.

At the same time, we seldom lacked meat, which does not keep long in summer and consequently could be bought from the Indians for a small sum. They went after deer for their skins and frequently left a part of the meat lying in the woods. This was not the case, however, with bears' meat, which was more scarce and had greater value among them. Therefore, we and our Indian brethren lived on that which the gracious Providence of our dear Heavenly Father provided for us, and although we had no great abundance, we had to answer: "Lord, never!" to the question: "Did ye ever lack anything?" Naturally we had to deny ourselves many things, under the circumstances, which one could enjoy in other places. In the beginning, our meetings here, as well as on our journey, had to be kept under the open sky. Some oak trees which stood in front of our huts, served a good purpose in this connection. These afforded beautiful shade, in which we used benches made of split wood. In the beginning, these services were attended by painted savages from the Indian village named Anderson Town, which lay down stream and whose Chief called himself Anderson or Kiktuchwenind. He was a half-breed who belonged to a certain family by that name, at the ferry at Harrisburg. He was not inclined, however, to Christianity, but sought to make his people averse to it.

Our old Indian Brother Joshua was our interpreter. In his youth he learned the German language at Bethlehem, and could read the German

Bible with ease. In the years of his childhood, he also played the organ a little. Because he could also write well, we had opportunity to learn a good deal of the Delaware language from him. He and his invalid son were the first of our people who helped us erect a little log-hut, fourteen feet square, which served also, in the beginning, as a meeting-place.

The building of our house, which was to be 16 feet square and made of prepared lumber, progressed slowly and with difficulty, partly because we had to struggle against attacks of fever during the summer, and partly because we lacked the necessary help, the Indian brethren having enough work of their own. Nevertheless, we got so far that, by the beginning of November, we could move into our winter quarters. We lacked a great many necessities in general and money in particular. The nearest post-office was at Cincinnati, which lay a hundred and twenty-five miles south-east of us. I made a journey there in November. I went on foot to the upper Indian village, Woapicamikunk, where I hired a horse and rode through the woods for three days, to the border inhabitants on the Big Miami, arriving first at Fort Hamilton and then at Cincinnati, which at that time was still an insignificant place. In the latter town I met Major Ziegler, whose acquaintance we had made before. He supplied me with the necessary things. My horse was well-loaded and I had to make my way home through the woods, on foot, from Fort Hamilton. In like manner, I had to make this journey every year, from two to three times, as long as we stayed on the White River, and, with several exceptions, I travelled alone on horseback through the woods. On these occasions I not only enjoyed the protection of the Lord by day and by night, so that I never suffered any injury to amount to anything, either at the hands of men or beasts, but I became strongly and comfortably conscious of His loving presence, in my loneliness. During the inclement seasons of the year I generally carried a small tent with me and put it up in front of some fallen tree. During the night I kept a large fire going and lay on a blanket spread on the ground, my saddle serving me as a pillow.

My horse usually gave me the greatest care, because I had to allow him sufficient freedom during the night to seek his nourishment in the neighborhood. For this reason, I was in danger of losing both myself and horse in the woods. As I was all alone, this might have happened very easily. Good people often advised me not to travel alone through the woods without a weapon, as it was known why I made the journey and since I had money on my person on my return trip, because there was no lack of bad people on the frontier who might make use of such an opportunity to maltreat me or to rob me. I always answered, however: "Thus far the Lord has preserved me from all danger, and I will trust Him further, for if He will withdraw His protection, then surely no weapon can save me." Although I was not very much afraid of wolves, because one seldom heard in this community that they attacked men, nevertheless I was often disturbed by their terrible howling during the night, and, as they do not readily come near a fire, I kept up a good one.

The fact that we lived a great distance from white people made it very troublesome or inconvenient for us in many respects. At the same time, conditions were more favorable on this account because the destructive liquor traffic was carried on to too great an extent, as it was. If the hurtful beverage was not brought in by the traders, it was not too far for the Indians, when about to celebrate certain heathen festivals, to go four or five days' journey to the Ohio River and bring from five to six horse loads, after which the whole Indian village concerned would be plunged into the most pitiful and terrible state, since nearly all the inhabitants of both sexes, children and minors not excepted, gave themselves over to drink, and people from other Indian towns came on horseback to assist in the wickedness, which seldom passed off without wounds and bumps, yes, and seldom without homicide and murder.

The first summer we were visited by some of the older Chiefs, namely, Pakantschihilas and Tetepachsit. The first was an old warrior of renown but a hardened pagan and an enemy of the conversion of his people to Christianity. The latter was the first and oldest Chief of his Nation. In the year 1802, he visited with some of his people in the city of Washington, as well as at Lititz, where the brethren showed him many honors. When they visited us, they told us that they had given their people liberty to visit us and to hear the gospel or Word of God, and that they would admonish them not to do us any hurt, and not to come through our settlement when drunk. But soon after, we heard that they worked hard against having their people come to us and becoming obedient to the Christian teaching, because they believed that they would thereby lose their own dignity and power. They also expressed their displeasure that only some of the Indian families from the Muskingum had come, since all had been invited by them.

Besides the Chiefs mentioned, of whom the first had his seat in Woapicamikunk, where about forty Indian families lived, and the latter, with about eight families, in Monsy Town, four miles down stream, there were two other Chiefs named Hackinkpomska and Kiktuchwenind, who were our nearest neighbors. The former lived with his people eight miles up stream, and the latter three miles down stream from us in Anderson Town, with about fifteen or sixteen Delaware families. Below them were some small Indian villages of which the last was called Sarah Town, because Isaac and Sarah, two baptized Indians, had settled there with their sons, who had become heathen. The parents were dead, and the sons would not leave their heathenism and come to us and accept the Word of God, since they were highly respected among the heathen.

In every Indian town there was a so-called long-house, about forty feet in length and twenty feet wide, in which the savages held their sacrifices and dances. It also served as a Council House. These houses were built of split logs set together between dug-in posts, and were provided with a roof, consisting of tree-bark or clapboards, resting on strong pillars dug into the earth. The entrance was at both gable-ends and there was neither floor nor ceiling. Near both ends and in the middle, there were three fires

over which hung large kettles in which corn and meat were boiled for the guests and always kept in readiness for them to eat, when finished with the dance. In the roof there were openings over every fire, so that the smoke could escape. Along the inside of the house there were seats or elevations from the ground about a foot high and five feet wide. These were first covered with the bark of trees and then with long grass. On them the guests sat, or if they felt like it, lay down and smoked their pipes, while the others were engaged in dancing.

The dances of the Indians are generally held in honor of their protecting deities, concerning whom they declared that they once upon a time appeared unto them in a dream, in one or another form, for example, in that of a large bird; that they talked with them, told them their future fate for better or for worse; that they either would have great Chiefs or Warriors who would do great deeds, great witch-doctors who would deal in supernatural things, or that they would possess great riches and many relatives, or the contrary. If the latter was the case, however, they did not sing their dreams but sadly related them. Those who had the former dreams, on such occasions step forward, holding the shell of a land-turtle containing a number of beans or kernels of corn. Then the one who is to lead the dance, in honor of the protecting deity, advances. After he has rattled the turtle-shell with his hand amid many grimaces, he stops, and, speaking in a loud tone of voice, he relates, by fits and starts, the contents of his dream, or the manner in which his god appeared and what he told him. When he is finished with it, he turns about and faces those who want to join him in the dance. These are arranged in a row and equipped with bells fastened to their legs and arms. The bells consist of deer-hoofs and all sorts of silver trinkets in the shape of crescents, scrapers and bracelets. These are so fastened to the body that a jarring sound is produced at every step taken. Two Indians, sitting at the side, beat the time with sticks, on a dried deer-skin made for the occasion, while the whole crowd moves forward with short, regular steps, which all take at the same time at certain abrupt intervals. Meanwhile the leader relates his dream in lines, which are repeated during the dance and drum-beating. The leader cuts many capers and jumps up and down. This is all in harmony with the time, and brings to light the skill of the dance. In this manner, the whole mass, the men first and the women following them, moves around in the house until they come again to the place from which they started, whereupon all gather around the post or pillar standing in the middle and upon which the roof rests. Upon both sides of this pillar are cut men's faces, provided with hair and painted, making a hideous appearance. In conclusion, all stretch out their hands toward the totem, and with a terribly shrill yell the dance comes to an end, whereupon all take their places again. After a short pause, another steps forward, when the same performance is repeated. These dances are held only at night and are often continued for weeks at a time. At the conclusion a sacrificial feast is held, for which the deer and bear-meat is provided by all joining in a common hunt, the women furnishing a store of corn-bread. All is prepared, in common, in

the house of sacrifice, and there partaken of amid certain ceremonies. For example, the bread is arbitrarily thrown among the guests, and each one catches as much as he can. In conclusion, two beautiful tanned deer-skins are turned over to two old men appointed beforehand, who hold them toward sunrise, in front of the house of sacrifice, and spread them out, while murmuring something. In this way, they imagine they are praying to their god. They thank him for long life and health. For this service the old men afterwards receive the skins as their property. Before I could understand the language very well, I had the opportunity of attending such a dance for half of a night, and that at Woapicamikunk. There were present a large number of Indians, besides Chiefs.

John Connor, the trader mentioned above, who had a Delaware Indian for a wife and with whom I stayed over night, invited me to the dance and introduced me. He himself appeared to be very much taken with it. He said that the Indians in this way sought to serve their god, and that he had learned to know many of them whose dreams had been fulfilled; in fact, their dreams, with few exceptions, generally came true. He himself danced with them and had not gotten much farther in knowledge than the heathen. On such occasions, the Chiefs addressed their people, both the men and women, and, although they themselves did not abstain, strictly prohibited the use of strong drink, fornication, adultery, stealing, lying, cheating, murder, and urged hospitality, love, unity, as things well-pleasing to God, which is proof that even the heathen is not without knowledge of good and evil and therefore has a conscience which accuses or excuses him, and which will also judge him. It was customary among them on these occasions to erect tents around the outside of the Council House. After the ceremonies were over, they went, in companies, from one tent to the other to visit and to greet one another with a mutual handshake. In connection with this, they assumed a solemn mien and used courtly language according to the age or circumstances of the family addressed. All this makes a good outward show to one who does not know them or their circumstances. But, after one has made a closer acquaintance with them, one learns, unfortunately, how they distrust one another, even their nearest relatives, because of poisoning, witchcraft and the black art, so that really not one confides in another. When one of their relatives dies, whether old or young, it is not at all unusual for one or the other of the relatives, or even some one else, to be suspected of having brought about the death either by poisoning or witchcraft. The fellowship of love is therefore unknown among them, and on such occasions they merely make a pretense, because they are really afraid of one another. One sees from this how far imagination, stimulated by fear, causes such people, who are still in the grip of superstition, to go. Because their hearts are evil they cannot think well of one another.

Their useless worship of God is based on sensual enjoyment and preferences and applies itself to the desire of long life, wealth, honor and good fortune, and not infrequently supernatural powers and communion with the protecting deities, who are to grant them respect and dignity. Such

as pretend to have this privilege generally succeed in gaining certain advantages over others, but at the same time, they also run the great risk of being looked upon as evil persons, who put others out of the way by means of this art and supernatural power. Of such things the minds of the Indians of both sexes are full and so deeply rooted are they that even those who have accepted Christianity and believe that through Jesus' death they are delivered from the power of sin and of Satan, still insist that such evil powers exist among the heathen, and that they can kill each other by means of secret poison and the black art, and therefore easily give room to suspicion that such things do happen.

Special grace is therefore needed for such as have been converted from heathenism to Christianity, especially under certain circumstances as, for example, sickness, that they may be kept from seeking help from the sorcerers who claim that, by means of their art, they can cure or drive out disease, and rather resolve to die in faith in the Saviour and to inherit eternal life than by means of an evil power to become physically well and then be eternally lost.

If one tells the heathen of the world's Saviour or Son of God, that He became man to deliver us from the power of sin and of Satan, that He was by wicked men nailed to the cross and put to death and again arose from the dead and ascended into Heaven, they usually turn off the matter by saying that they had no part in the death of the Son of God, since it did not happen in their country nor at the hands of their Nation. On the other hand, they relate that God, their Protector, had also appeared unto them from Heaven once upon a time, and that in winter, in the midst of a snow-storm, and that He had large snow-shoes on His feet; that He had stayed with them for a long time and prescribed to them their mode of life and sacrificial feasts, which they had followed strictly ever since. They had not dealt so wickedly with their God, but had reverently dismissed Him again, and therefore did not have to reproach themselves on account of it like the white people, who said of themselves that they had crucified the Son of God.

Others declared that God had indeed given the Bible or written book to the white people who could read it, but to the Indians or children of the forest He had given the hunting-grounds, sacrificial feasts, and had shown them another mode of life; the former could therefore seek to live up to what God had commanded them, while they felt it their duty to hold fast to that which He had appointed for them. Others again are of the opinion, which is not generally held among them, however, that the Indians did not come from the same source as the white people, but had been created separately, for which reason they were not allowed to adopt the customs of the white people and to regulate themselves according to their religion. Such declare that because of the acceptance of the white man's religion on the part of some, their gods had become angry and sought their destruction; that their deities wanted to take away from them their land and all customs and liberties, including the use of whisky, which was the discovery of the whites, as well as their silver and their gold, and the practice of

usury among them, all of which they regarded as an evil in the world, and as originally unknown among their race, and something that had been brought upon them by the white people.

Others who were unfriendly to the preaching of the gospel were not ashamed to declare that we came among them for political reasons; that our object was to preach to them in order that they might be made tame and afterwards delivered over to the white people, as was the case in the war on the Muskingum. All this proved to us clearly that, while we stayed among these people, we had to battle against the prince of darkness, into whose realm we had come, and that we could not expect that he, without great opposition, would allow himself to be so readily robbed of his booty, since the Indians were willing, with lies and false reasoning, however absurd, to harden themselves against the truth and the light which was to lighten the way out of their prison, and not to accept it because they loved their darkness more.

Now I want to continue with the history of our sojourn among these people. The first years two baptized persons came to us who had lived for eighteen years among the heathen and had become old, their children having grown up in heathenism. Their names were Christina and Louisa. The latter was re-admitted to the Holy Communion. But since their children had no desire to follow them, and they could not support themselves, without their help, in our Indian congregation, which was weak and needy itself, they soon moved back again to their children. Our stay, however, made an impression on a number of sick persons who had themselves brought to the settlement. They forsook heathenism, were baptized, and later died and were buried in our village. During the five years of our work on the White River, only two persons, who were in health, were baptized, namely, a Pottewatemi and a Monsy woman. Undoubtedly we would have had more increase in population if our numbers had been large, and we had not been quite so afraid of false growth, which surely would have brought us a great deal of trouble. A woman, who belonged to us, allowed herself to be persuaded by her heathen relatives to resort to sorcery in the hope of being made well. Instead of recovering she died, whereupon we refused permission to have her buried on our graveyard according to the heathen custom, which incurred the enmity of her relatives. This occurrence and the fact that Indians came from their carousals in the neighboring Indian village and took the liberty, if it so pleased them, of shooting our best swine and taking them away, against which we could not defend ourselves, were unpleasant experiences. We therefore made a move in the spring of 1806 to find out whether it would not be possible to settle at another place in the neighborhood, where we would be farther away from the Indians. At the time mentioned, namely, at the beginning of March, in company with our old interpreter, Bro. Joshua, I made a tour of inspection to the Mississiniway stream, which is an arm of the Wabash.

Our way there took us through Woapicamikunk, where we found the Delaware and Monsy Nations in the midst of their annual sacrificial festival and dance, but this time, not, as is usually the case, in honor of

their gods, but chiefly for the purpose of discovering all those guilty of using poison, witch-doctors, and witches in their nation, and then putting them to death, because they declared that these evil-doers were the cause that so many of the people died and reached no great age. The young men, therefore, banded together and took the rule into their own hands. In a council held by themselves in the woods, they declared their resolution to destroy all poisoners and sorcerers among them, so that not so many of their people would die and they themselves would become older. It was therefore resolved that every one of their people suspected of being guilty of these evils should be brought before their grandfather—that is, fire—and if he would surrender his poison and give up his bad art, he should be pardoned. But, if he should refuse, he should be killed with the tomahawk and have his body thrown into the fire.

On the same day that this decision was reached in the upper Indian town Woapicamikunk, which was twenty miles from our place, the Indian Bro. Joshua and I arrived there, in the evening, on our way to the Mississiniway stream, where we wanted to see if we could find our future place of residence. We camped with an Indian family, which had its tent not far from other Indians, who had come from the Indian towns, and had erected their tents near the house of sacrifice. We soon heard with astonishment of the new developments and saw that there was a great commotion among the savages. The fixed stares and earnest faces, especially of the older people of both sexes showed it, because there was no telling how the matter would end. Next morning we resumed our journey and examined the place to which we went, remained there over night, and then began our homeward journey, but without coming too near to the meeting-place of the Indians, which we tried to pass unnoticed. We remained over night in Monsy Town, and came home safely in the afternoon of the fourth day.

We were hardly at home, however, for more than an hour, when seven young Indians, with faces painted black, made their appearance and immediately made known their errand, namely, that they had been ordered to bring Joshua before the council, because their old Chief Tetepachsit, who had been accused of being a poison-master, had declared that he had concealed his poison in Joshua's house during his stay there last winter, and that he had therefore to defend himself against the charge. All of us were very much frightened over this report, but never dreamed that any harm would come to him, when he should prove his innocence in the matter. After he had enjoyed a meal and had taken leave of us, without further ceremony, he accompanied them. Under the circumstances, he seemed quite calm and comforted. Perhaps he had no idea of his fate, because he was not conscious of any crime of that sort. But the wicked, lying spirit and murderer had him now in his power and he sought to take his revenge, though this was at the time unknown to Joshua and to us.

When Joshua had arrived before the council in the upper town and had given answer to the accusation, he was declared innocent of the charge. But when he wanted to return home, he was detained under the pretext that another hearing awaited him and all who were accused, as they were

expecting the well-known Schawano prophet (Tecumseh's brother), before whom all were to be examined, whether guilty or not, for a Monsy woman who had had an extraordinary vision and had swallowed three times, a light that had appeared to her, and who for that reason had thus far acted as judge, did not want to keep the office any longer, because it was too hard for her, being after all a woman. Joshua could not do otherwise very well than to undergo another examination in order that he might free himself from suspicion. But when he was brought before the Schawano prophet, this fellow said, no doubt having been previously instructed, that Joshua had no poison, but that he possesed the spirit of sorcery, with which he could kill people, if he wanted to surrender them to his guardian deity as a meal. This was sufficient to expose him to the suspicion and hatred of the superstitious people, among whom Satan had his special instruments, to carry out his wicked designs.

Joshua was now led to a large fire and there surrounded. They insisted that he should confess how many people he had already put to death in the way mentioned above. But since he protested that he was innocent in the matter and had never caused the death of any one, and indeed could not in the manner he was accused of, it so happenend, having been agreed upon previously no doubt, that one in the circle went to the fire with his tomahawk-pipe, as if he wanted to light it for smoking, having filled it with tobacco. But when he had come back from the fire, he struck, from behind, the tomahawk-hatchet into Joshua's head. This action was repeated by the others, whereupon amid heathenish yells, they threw his body into the fire and burned it in barbaric fashion.

This was the sad end of our poor Indian Bro. Joshua. Of course he had a great many faults, but surely he was quite innocent of the charge, and became a victim of superstitious cruelty. Unfortunately, he had not always conducted himself as a model among the heathen. He was never quite free from superstition, and, in an hour of weakness, he boasted of a dream which he had had in his childhood. This boast he made while under the influence of whisky to which the heathen had tempted him. On that occasion, he told the Indians that if, after the heathen manner, he wanted to make use of the dream of his youth, he could also do evil, for in his vision a bird had appeared unto him and said: "I am a man-eater, and if you wish to feed me, you need but point out to me some one, and then I will put him out of the way." Thus it was that the Great Enemy was permitted to wreak vengeance on him and to become his accuser and murderer, so that the mission work might be brought to an end here.

Joshua had made many heart-experiences and had great reverence for the gospel and the Holy Scriptures, which he could read and understand well in the German language. He also possessed the ability to express himself intelligently in German, since he had learned to speak it in his youth in the children's institution at Bethlehem, and was afterwards employed as an interpreter. Still, he had never quite renounced connection with heathen sins and superstitions, so that his life unto the end consisted of falling and rising. At the same time, the Spirit of God labored with his

heart, so that after he had fallen, he humbled himself as a great sinner and with tears of repentance begged for pardon. We did not doubt that the Saviour, in spite of this hard fate, had graciously received unto Himself his poor soul and counted it among the number who are made righteous through His blood. It is true, he did not die as a martyr, for the sake of God's Word, but still a great deal of jealousy, on the part of the enemy, may have fastened itself upon him, because of his service to the gospel as interpreter, as he frequently, with a warm heart, gave witness to the great sinner-love of God in Christ Jesus, to those who attended the meetings and visited him.

On the same day that Joshua was murdered at Woapicamikunk or the upper Indian village, without our knowing anything about it, the old Chief Tetepachsit was brought to our place by six or seven black-painted savages and, without the least hesitation, they took a fire-brand out of one of the Indian brethren's house and hastened to a certain tree in the neighborhood, where the old Chief was said to have declared that he had concealed his poison. When they came there, they could not find any poison, which was also the case at other places to which they had gone previously. In spite of the declaration of his innocence and of his telling them of the great punishment to which they would expose themselves by putting him to death, since he had no poison, he was knocked down with a tomahawk, wielded by his grown-up son, in the same manner as related above, and then, after they had taken off his wampum-belt and other articles, his body was thrown into the fire.

When these murderers returned to our place, some of those whom we knew came into our house, without our knowing what had happened. They, however, boasted of their terrible deed, and the son wore his father's belt and showed the articles which he had taken away from him, and said: "This comes from him who cast off my mother and his oldest children and took unto himself a young wife." We now feared for the fate of Joshua and we put in a few good words for him. One of them whom we knew well, said, however: "We would not like to take him under our protection, because he is a wicked person and possesses supernatural powers with which he can destroy people, and he has undoubtedly taken a great many lives already." But they left us under the impression that he was still alive.

Next day I started out for Woapicamikunk with the hope of after all doing something for our Joshua, of standing by him under the trying circumstances, and even if I could do nothing else for him, at least of admonishing and comforting him. But after I had proceeded ten miles or half way, I met the Indian Chief Anderson or Kiktuchwenind, who with several others had come from there. From them I learned that Joshua had been put to death in the manner related above, and at the same time at Woapicamikunk that old Chief Tedpachsit met his fate near our place. I could not conceal my grief over poor Joshua's death and told the Chief that he had been innocent. But, with solemn mien, he told me that Joshua had received his just reward, as would the other wicked people among

them, who, with poison and supernatural powers, put others out of the way. When I wanted to reproach him that the Indians put their own people to death in this manner, he said: "You white people also try your criminals, and when they are found guilty, you hang them or kill them, and we do the same among ourselves." Another of our Chiefs, Hokinkpomska by name, was likewise condemned for having poison and was even then under arrest, though it was not yet decided how he should fare.

What terrible pain this occurrence gave us may readily be imagined! We did not know what to say or think of it. The continuance or destiny of our mission and our staying here longer, looked very dark to us, especially so, since we had heard that the Indians threatened to drive us away, or at least would advise us to leave the place before evil should befall us. Not to be frightened away by all sorts of evil reports, we resolved to inquire for ourselves from the Council at Woapicamikunk, so that we might learn the truth. For that reason I went there and asked the Council, which was still in session, to let us know without reserve, what it thought in regard to our longer stay here. This body declared that what we had heard had not come from them, but might have been said by some of their young people. Under the circumstances, they really could not tell us anything, because they had never called white teachers, but only their Indian relatives from the Muskingum, but of that number the families White Eyes and Kilbuck, whom they had especially invited, had not come, only a few others. We were therefore free and could do as we wished, either go or stay; that they had no intention of hurting us. After this declaration, they directed me to their arrested Chief Hackinkpomska, who in spite of the fact that he was at the time accused of being a poison-master and was to have his hearing and was under guard, had not laid aside his office. He agreed with the Council in saying, that formerly they did not know how to serve God, but recently He had raised up people from their own number, who spoke to them through sacrifices, and told them that in this way they might free themselves from all evil; they therefore did not need the help of white teachers any longer, as they formerly believed was necessary. Hereupon I made my way home again and we decided to remain here quietly, for the time being, and await the answer of our dear brethren at Bethlehem.

All this happened in spring, in the month of March, 1806, after we had labored for almost five years without prospects of doing anything toward the conversion of the souls of these people. Though we fully expected to be called away, we considered it best to continue with our usual work, plant our corn and garden and look after our other duties, so as to be prepared, if the opposite should be the case. As it was, we could not expect an answer before the month of August, on account of our mail regulations and the distance of one hundred and thirty miles from the nearest post-office. Meanwhile, we were greatly annoyed by the constant carousals going on in the next Indian village, three miles down the river. Some of these drunken savages finally moved to our village, which they made their drinking-place.

Under the circumstances, if we wanted to get out of the way of the disorder, there remained nothing for us to do but to lock our houses and flee to the woods and stay in our sugar-camp until the drinking was over. On one such occasion I was the last to leave the place, having spent some time in locking up, and consequently did not get away as soon as Bro. and Sr. Kluge and the children, and an Indian family that lived with us. When I was in the act of leaving, I had the unpleasant experience of being attacked by a drunken Indian, who caught sight of me. With violent words he called after me that I should wait until he had caught up with me. This done, he told me with great fierceness, after having rushed upon me, that I had to return with him and give him something to eat. I told him that everything had been locked up and that there was nothing to eat on hand, save a little sour milk in the shed. This seemed to satisfy him, but I had to go with him and hand it over to him. After he had drunk a little of it, he told me that I had to go with him to their drinking-place and drink whisky, which I refused to do.

Finally he informed me that if I would not accompany him voluntarily and do as he demanded, he would compel me to go, whereupon he grabbed me and became violently angry, when I tried to tear myself away from him. After we had struggled a while and he found that he could not overpower me, he became still angrier, picked up a hatchet which lay near us, and held it over my head, and told me that if I would not walk in front of him, he would knock my brains out with it. I realized my danger and considered it the part of wisdom to accompany him. I told him that he should lead the way and I would follow him. Thereupon he said that I was his prisoner and had to walk in front of him, which I did. He therefore walked back of me, swinging the hatchet and howling and yelling that he had taken a white prisoner. An Indian woman had seen us from a distance and hurried to us and tried to wrench the hatchet out of his hand, but he gripped it all the harder, swung it about and cried that I was his prisoner. In this way we reached the drinking-place, where from seven to eight of his Delaware companions were assembled around a barrel of whisky. Among these was a certain Thomas White Eyes. My captor called out loudly again: "Here I bring a white prisoner." The former looked at him sternly and said: "This is my friend, and if you hurt him in the least, you and I will have trouble." He then told me that I should take a seat. He took the hatchet away from my persecutor and handed it to me. Turning to the Indian, he said: "We like to drink whisky, but he does not, and I will not permit you to force my friend to do what goes against him." Thereupon he told me that I could now return home in peace.

Filled with gratitude to our dear Lord that He had provided me with a guardian angel to deliver me out of the hands of this wicked man, I made the most of the opportunity to get away, and went to a slight elevation in the woods, from where, unobserved, I watched the drinking for a while, and listened to the fierce yells which rent the air. The poor horses which they had brought or had caught in the neighborhood were raced up and

down amid fearful yells and had to suffer a great deal from their cruelty. On such occasions it is customary for two to sit on one horse and then ride him at full speed, and not infrequently one or the other is hurt badly or even loses his life. It is a sad sight to watch these people in their madness, maltreating themselves and their beasts, in their drunkenness. One is reminded of the condition concerning which Paul wrote: "The creature is subject to vanity against its will."

I then made my way to our sugar-hut which was nearby in the woods, where I met Bro. and Sr. Kluge with their children, and the Indian family living with us, and I told them what had happened and how things were in our village. After we had remained in hiding until evening and learned that our place was once more empty, we came out of our holes and went home. To our astonishment, we found everything undisturbed in and around our houses, which proved to us that the drunken Indians had entertained no evil intentions in regard to us, but merely desired to indulge their wickedness in our settlement and to frighten us a little, since only a few Indian families lived with us at the time. From such visits from the nearby Indian village, we had to suffer frequently while drinking was going on. At such times half-naked, drunken Indians would ride into our village at top-speed and fill the air with wild yells and demand something to eat, for they became quite famished from their carousing. It was safest for us to get out of the way and lock our houses or place something in front of the door to show that the inhabitants were not at home, since an Indian, in that case, will not easily take the liberty of entering, so as not to expose himself to the suspicion of wanting to steal, which among them is very much looked down upon and regarded as something despicable.

The beginning of August I went to Cincinnati to get our mail from the post-office at that place. This time we expected to find an answer in regard to our future work, which we received, too, in a letter from Bro. Loskiel of Bethlehem, from which we learned that our post had been given up and that we might go to the locality which we had in mind. Thereupon preparations for leaving were made and we soon found an opportunity to exchange our corn-field, a number of hay-stacks, together with our small stock of cattle and some household goods, to a French trader, for four pack-horses, which, together with the three horses we had already, enabled us to undertake the journey through the woods to Fort Hamilton or the settlement of the whites on the Big Miami River. But when it became known that we were intending to leave, Chief Anderson, from the neighboring Indian village, and a number of his people visited us and told us that they came to inform us, that after the custom of the white people, the one who lived on the land of another had to pay rent; that we had now lived five years on their land and had never yet given them as much as a hog or an ox, with which they could have a good time, he had therefore come to tell us, in the name of the Chiefs and members of the Council, that they claimed a certain amount of our cattle, namely, a young ox, three hogs, and a table which had been made from wood which had grown on their land; that without this tribute, they would not dismiss us peace-

fully. We were therefore compelled, so as not to get into trouble with them, to turn over what they demanded, and to reimburse the trader in cash for the deduction.

Sorrowfully we left the place, where we had passed through so many trials, but where we had apparently accomplished little for the good of the kingdom of God. We left two baptized adults behind us, namely, a Monsy woman who lived with her old Cherokee Indian, and a Putawattomi woman, who had a Frenchman for a husband. Both had been baptized by us and appeared sad to have us leave them. Trusting in the help of the Lord Who had so graciously stood by us thus far, and had not allowed us to succumb to our trouble, with seven horses, of which four were laden with our baggage and on three of which we missionaries sat, each holding a child of Bro. and Sr. Kluge, the biggest of them being five years old, we began our journey through the woods, on September 16. We soon learned that we could make our three or four days' journey through the woods alone, but that we would be compelled to hire a man to take charge of the pack-horses. After having traversed eight miles, we came across a Frenchman named Bruje, who had an Indian wife, in an Indian village, and who was willing to accompany us, for a dollar a day, as far as to the border of the white people, a distance of seventy miles, where we struck the large road which leads eastward through the State of Ohio. Here we had to remain a while, in order that I might go to Cincinnati, which we had left about thirty-five miles to the south of us, to furnish ourselves with the money needed for our journey.

After my return, we exchanged one of our best horses for a wagon and hitched to it our horses and followed our road eastward over New Lebanon, New Lancaster, and Zanesville on the Muskingum River. When we were in the region of our brethren in Gnadenhuetten, our way leading us about thirty miles south of there, we embraced the good opportunity to send two of our horses, which we could spare, to Bro. Heckewelder to have sold for the benefit of the Missionary Society. Thereupon we came to Wheeling, where we had ourselves ferried across the Ohio River, thence drove through Somerset, Bedford, Strasburg, Shippensburg, thence over the mountains to Harrisburg, and finally arrived safe and sound, in the midst of our dear brethren at Lititz, on the 5th of November. Here we enjoyed sincere love and heartfelt interest. Strengthened in body and spirit, on the 10th, we continued our journey to Bethlehem, where we arrived safely, on November 12, and were warmly welcomed. Our hearts were filled with praise and gratitude toward God, who had, after six years' absence, kept His gracious hand of protection over us, amid our many trials in the Indian country as well as on our journey, and had permitted us to return in safety to the place whence we started out.

In looking back over the five years and a half mentioned above, I cannot help remembering the many heart experiences through which I passed. During that time the Spirit of God showed me indescribably much patience and faithfulness, and faithfully, though chastisingly as well, interested Himself in my poor soul, which often found itself in a desert and tor-

mented and frightened by Satan with many doubts, though not to the point of rejecting Christ. I was always brought to the right path of salvation in Christ again. In my loneliness I was not only denied the beautiful services and blessed meetings which I had enjoyed in the lap of the congregation, but I was surrounded by dark heathenism and the idolatry, superstition and vices connected with it. It depended now on how strong my faith in the Saviour of the world, Whom I was to preach to the heathen, would prove itself to be. Under these circumstances I not only had to feel my weakness but also my unbelief and doubt, and I was greatly perplexed over my condition during the first years, which made me cry unto the Lord. I was frightened over the doubts within me, whether the Holy Scriptures were divine, and sought to fight these questions with the aid of reason, thinking in this way to rid myself of them. Hard as I tried to lock myself in this stronghold and to keep the field, I frequently became painfully conscious that I still did not possess the right weapons with which to defeat the Enemy. For that reason, I not only failed to gain any advantage over him, but plunged myself into still greater darkness. At last, the Spirit of God succeeded in getting me to take a look into my wicked heart, to learn the source of all my doubts, and to show that there was nothing at the bottom of them but pride, self-confidence and lack of humility. With deep shame and penitence in my soul, that I should have doubted the truths of God, I prayed to the Saviour for the forgiveness of the sins which had so grieved His Spirit, and for having stood in my own way for so long. I became more and more convinced of the hatefulness and enormity of the sin of unbelief. I realized how foolish it was not to want to believe anything, except that which poor man can apprehend and understand, and in this way trying to make himself equal to God. If, therefore, I was tempted to doubt in the future, I knew at once whence my doubts came and would not allow myself to debate or to dispute or to engage in examination, but rather regarded them as the arrows of the Devil, whose object it is to make man doubt God and all His truths and promises. In this way, I took my refuge with the Saviour and got rid of my doubting.

Although I was at peace at far as the divine truths were concerned, I found difficulty at times in making them my own as I wished. I also doubted whether I was really in a state of grace, since I could not find within me the marks of a child of God, according to my own preconceived ideas. In this perplexity I again threw myself at the feet of the Saviour and begged Him to give me the assurance that I was a child of God and that my salvation was a fact, otherwise I could not be at rest, on account of my feeling of poverty. Before I arose from prayer, I was comforted in a special way by that verse occurring to me: "I am thine, because Thou hast given Thy life and shed Thy blood for me. Thou art mine because I lay hold of Thee, and will not let Thee, O my Light, out of my heart." This was so vividly and convincingly spoken to my heart that I could not but believe, in a childlike manner, that I was His dearly purchased possession, and that nothing more was required of me than in faith to keep

myself near Him, and allow Him and His good Spirit to guide and direct me.

Another time, when I entertained doubts in regard to the atonement and was in a cloud of legality, concerning the judgment of God and the lost and sinful condition of fallen mankind and the state of my own depraved heart, under which feeling I was uncomforted, my anxious and sorrowful soul found relief, on Easter morning (1803), while meditating on the History of the Resurrection and the words of the Apostle Paul when he wrote to the Romans: "Who is he that condemneth? It is Christ Jesus that died, yea rather, that was raised from the dead, who is at the right hand of God, who also maketh intercession for us." Thereby I was enlightened and quickened as never before and I was so pleased and happy that I wished I could tell all people how easy it was to become a child of God, since the just died for the unjust and all depended on our acceptance of it by faith. From that time my desire was, more and more, to enjoy the merits of the Saviour in my own heart, and to proclaim them to the heathen in their lost condition, and not to dwell so much on my and their great, sinful misery, which could only result in leaving one comfortless, but the rather to rejoice that the Prince of this world is judged, and that the Saviour has robbed death of its power and brought life and immortality to light.

After my return from the White River in November, 1806, I sojourned in the Brethren's House at Bethlehem, for several months, and busied myself with the copying of the Delaware translation of the Harmony of the four Gospels. In the beginning of February, 1807, I received a temporary position in Nazareth Hall, where, in pleasant and intimate intercourse with the teachers, I spent seven months. Strengthened in body and spirit, I began my journey, in accordance with my appointment, in August of that year, travelling by stage, over Philadelphia and Pittsburg to Gnadenhuetten on the Muskingum, where I took charge, for a while, of the store business for Bro. D. Peter, who had gone to Bethlehem to be married. After his return, before winter set in, I went to Goshen to Bro. and Sr. Zeisberger and Bro. and Sr. Mortimer and there entered once more upon mission service. During the winter I was busy teaching school and learning the Delaware language, for which the opportunity afforded itself.

The feeling of my weakness and shortcomings, when I realized what I could and should be to the Saviour, discouraged me for a while and drove me to prayer to Him, in answer to which I experienced His powerful encouragement, so that I learned to place my confidence more on the help of the Saviour and the all-powerful strength of His good Spirit. This kept me humble, in that I felt all bodily and spiritual gifts to serve Him come down from above, from the Father of lights, and that before Him no man could boast, and that everything was a pure gift of grace for which He would hold us accountable. Though I realized that I would always remain a debtor to Him at the judgment, I regarded my poverty of spirit as the seal of my being a child of God, for in this way He could reveal Himself

to my heart, and quiet, comfort, and meet me as a friend, at His own pleasure.

Through my intercourse with the old experienced Missionary, D. Zeisberger, who was now in his eighty-sixth year, I had further opportunity to learn from his verbal accounts many things that were of great assistance to me in my future service, in connection with my having charge of the Indian congregation. He was in the habit of saying: "If one wants to catch birds, one must not throw sticks at them." After very pleasantly spending the winter of 1808 in this place, I was asked, the beginning of April, to make a journey, in company with a number of Indian brethren, to Petquotting on Lake Erie, where Bro. and Sr. Denke and the single brother, J. Haven, had been assigned to serve the Indian congregation. At the time, they were having all sorts of unpleasant experiences, due partly to conditions in the Indian congregation, and partly to the difficulties which arose in connection with the land upon which the mission was situated. The land had been transferred by the Wyandottes to the United States, and later given by the Government, as indemnity for a loss by fire, to a company in Connecticut. The owners of the land now made their appearance and took possession of it and in consequence the Indian Congregation could no longer remain.

From here the Helpers' Conference at Bethlehem asked me, in company with the single brother J. Haven and a number of Indian brethren, to make a journey, either by land or water, to Kikeyunk or Fort Wayne in order to find a suitable location for an Indian congregation. Since this desire could not be fulfilled in spring, the journey was postponed until the following August. In the interim, I went to Goshen on the Muskingum again, and then, at the appointed time, made my appearance at Petquotting. Accompanied by the single brother J. Haven and a number of Indian brethren, I began the journey on horseback. We followed a trail which led us over the Upper and Lower Sandusky, through the Indian towns of the Wyandottes and Senecas, who originally lived on the Sandusky, and through the villages of the Schawanos, whose original seat was on the Big Miami and Anglaize River, and touched the upper part of St. Mary's River, which we followed to its mouth at Fort Wayne, where it joins the St. Joseph River, thus forming the Maumee River, which empties itself into Lake Erie. At Fort Wayne, we consulted with Captain William Wells, who commanded a small fort on the Indian Reservation. We then journeyed down the Maumee River, past Fort Defiance until we reached Fort Meigs (now Toledo), and from there made our way again to the Lower Sandusky and thence to Petquotting, after having made a circuit of 350-380 miles in eighteen days. Having been asked to bring the report to Bethlehem myself, I travelled on horseback through the woods from Petquotting to Goshen, a distance of eighty miles, a region which at that time had no white settlers. The beginning of October, I reached safely the Brethen Zeisberger and Mortimer on the Muskingum. After a short stay with them, I resumed my journey to Bethlehem in company with

Joseph Rice and his wife and his father. After spending six weeks at Bethlehem, Bro. Gotthard Cunow and I went to Washington, by way of Philadelphia and Baltimore, to secure the protection of the Government for the Mission of the Brethren among the Indians in the United States. To this end, Bro. Cunow handed to Jefferson, who was President at that time, an address and short mission reports, as well as some printed Delaware translations.

From Washington Bro. Cunow returned home again, and I traveled by stage to Pittsburg and Steubenville, and arrived safely at Goshen on the Muskingum, January 1, 1809. Here I was just in time to witness the baptism of an adult Indian who received the name of Clemens. To my great sorrow, I was not permitted to meet again with the dear old Bro. D. Zeisberger here on earth, he having peacefully fallen asleep toward the end of the previous year. All the more did it become my duty to assist, in both spiritual and temporal matters, Bro. and Sr. Mortimer, who were now alone in the work. The following spring, however, I received a call to Fairfield in Upper Canada, and in pursuance to this call, accompanied by an Indian, I went to Petquotting the beginning of April, and thence by water, in company with Bro. and Sr. Denke and two Indian families in two canoes, along the banks of Lake Erie to Detroit. From here we went along the banks of Lake St. Clair to the Thames River, then up that stream for forty miles until we reached Fairfield safely, May 14, and found ourselves in the presence of Bro. and Sr. Schnall and the single Brethren Michael Jung and J. Haven. Our water-journey took us about three weeks, since we were often compelled, on account of contrary winds, to remain at a stand-still near the shore. In this place I gained more proficiency in the Delaware language from my intercourse with the Indian brethren and sisters, as well as by teaching a goodly number of children. I also had to make my addresses in Delaware because there was no interpreter. After a short time, I could express myself satisfactorily without having to write my addresses. In this respect, Bro. Denke, who had previously made addresses in the Delaware language, was of assistance to me, because I could learn the expressions more readily from him than from an Indian.

During the following year (1810) I was asked to make a visit, in company with an Indian brother, to the Monsy and Delaware towns lying thirty miles up stream; also to the Indians of the said nation living a hundred miles farther away on the Grand River, on which occasion I had the opportunity of preaching to them the gospel in their own language. For the purpose of hearing the Word, they assembled in their houses of sacrifice. The journey was repeated later on to the Monsy town thirty miles from Fairfield. At that time I stayed with the well-known Indian sorcerer Onim, who is frequently mentioned in the Mission Reports. Although he was still a hardened heathen then, and strongly defended the heathen superstitions, one could see that he after all feared, as he put it, that the teaching of the white people was the divine truth, and his contentions were lies. Eventually he was converted and before his death

baptized by Bro. Denke, receiving the name Leonard. The hearts of the Delawares and Monsys in that region seemed for the time to be closed against the teaching of the Gospel, because they feared their Chiefs and relatives. Not until their neighbors, the Chippewas, accepted the Word of God, did they do likewise.

After I had been in the service at Fairfield for two years, I was asked, in the spring of 1811, in company with the single Bro. Joachim Hagen, who was in Bethlehem at the time, to make an attempt to gather the Christian Indians who were scattered from Petquotting to the Sandusky, and also to preach the gospel to the heathen who lived on the Upper and Lower Sandusky. At the beginning of May, accompanied by two Indian brethren, I left Fairfield by water, in a canoe, and reached Detroit on the 5th, where I made a formal call on Governor Hull, of Michigan, and acquainted him with our intention and the reason for our sojourn on the Sandusky River, and commended ourselves to the protection of the Government. At the mouth of the Detroit River, we stopped at the English fort in Malden, and acquainted Captain Elliot with our purpose. He had served for many years as Indian agent and had accumulated considerable possessions. He was the same man who, under command of the English and assisted by the Half-king of the Huron Indians, in the fall of the year 1781, brought the Indian congregation, by force, from the Muskingum River to the Upper Sandusky and greatly maltreated the missionaries. He was now an old man and sought to help the mission wherever he could.

From here we passed over to the American side, made our way along the shores of Lake Erie to the mouth of Sandusky Bay, and then up the same until we reached the Lower Sandusky, where the Monsys had settled, in three small villages, near the Wyandottes and Hurons, to whom the land really belonged. Here I met Bro. Hagen, who had come from Bethlehem by way of the Muskingum. He had arrived eight days earlier. After we had announced ourselves to the Indian Chiefs, we erected a summer hut for ourselves near some Monsy families, who had formerly belonged to the congregation at Petquotting and after its abandonment had moved here. From time to time, we visited not only the heathen families who lived in the villages, telling them about the kingdom of God, but also asked them to come and hear the Word of God, which we intended to preach every Sunday in their long houses or Council houses. With faces painted red and dressed in their heathen finery, they complied with this request a number of times, and attended the meeting. But when their curiosity was satisfied, we had to be content with small companies in a house, or even with one family, after we had received permission to keep a short service, which consisted of the singing of a Delaware hymn, a prayer and a short address. We sought to make these visits every Wednesday and Sunday, but soon learned that we were a burden to them, because they frequently got out of the way when they saw us come. Nevertheless, we succeeded in speaking with many, and that not without blessing, of faith in the world's Saviour, and of their need of a new heart, which would enable them to give up sin and all evil. Meanwhile, we lived here in the midst of the

savage heathen, and frequently had to listen to their night-long heathen dances held in the nearest villages, when the air was filled with their noise and the echo of one party was answered by another. Drunkenness was not unusual among them and ensued as often as the occasion arose to procure whisky, which had to be brought, from sixty to seventy miles, from the settlement of the white people, of whom the bad ones, as well as the Indians, were only too ready to carry on the hurtful traffic. To their credit it must be said, however, that at such times we were rarely disturbed by individuals, and if that did happen, they usually asked our forgiveness and attributed the evil deeds to whisky.

After we had become settled in the most primitive fashion and had started a small garden, we started out on a short visit to the Delaware Indian village called Green Town or Armstrong Town, lying forty miles south-east of us or half way to the Muskingum River, in the neighborhood where Mansfield now stands. Many of these heathen families had formerly heard the gospel, because they were related to the Christian Indians in Goshen and Petquotting and had frequently visited here. They had remained unfriendly to Christianity because of their love for their heathen customs. The amusements of the young men, among these people, consist of prize-fighting and gymnastic games, with which they pass nearly all their time when they are at home. Added to these are the nightly dances and copious whisky drinking, so that they have little inclination for anything else, and it is generally difficult to get their minds on divine or heavenly things. When we came to their village, they were busily engaged in playing their games. In the center of the village they have an open space for the purpose and upon this ground no grass can grow, because they tramp around on it daily.

They received us in a friendly manner and showed us into an Indian house, where we lodged with an Indian family that was acquainted with the Indian Brethren at Goshen. We remained a number of days, visited in many houses and held a number of services in the house in which we stayed. A considerable number of Indians of both sexes attended the meetings and listened attentively. From here we went to Goshen and Gnadenhuetten and renewed our strength in fellowship with the white and brown brethren. On our way home, we stopped again at the house of our host in the Indian village and tried to hold meetings, but these were not as well attended as the first. One could clearly see that the inhabitants did not want their Chiefs to suspect them of having anything to do with Christianity, for fear of being persecuted by those inclined to heathenism. Many of the latter class are so prejudiced against the white people that they hold in disdain everything that comes from them, and declare that the Indians had been forsaken by their gods, because they had adopted the customs and teachings of the white people. In this connection, however, it is wonderful that they except whisky, for that in no wise falls under their displeasure. We came across an example of such prejudice against Christianity in the following manner. On our return, in following the trail, we found in the woods a bark hut about half a mile from the Indian

village. In this hut we saw an elderly Indian, quite emaciated and pale, stretched on a bed a little above the ground. As it seemed, it was impossible for him to move a leg on account of rheumatism from which he had evidently suffered a long time. For superstitious reasons he had been separated from the rest of the men and brought here and left to his fate. He told us that he had been in this condition for six years, and had been reduced to this state by wicked men by means of their sorcery. With the assistance of his relatives, among whom the nearest one was Chief Anderson, he had given his all and had paid a great deal of money to the sorcerers, so that they would free him again, but thus far all efforts had been in vain. They had therefore brought him here, so that he might be all by himself, which, under the circumstances, would be most pleasant for him. In addition to these troubles, he told us, an unpleasant thing happened, namely, a cow grazing around the outside of his hut had dared to take away from him, the cloth which he had fastened about his head, and had chewed it up, because it was impossible for him to move.

After we had heard his complaint and had expressed our pity for his condition, I took the Word and sought to comfort him with the glad tidings of a Saviour Who had come into the world to deliver mankind from its sorrow and misery and to free it from the power of sin and the Devil, through His incarnation, life, suffering and death, and had, if men believed on Him, promised them Heaven and eternal salvation, in His divine Word. I begged him in his forlorn condition to yield himself, body and soul, to the Saviour, as His possession. Hereupon he remained silent for a while, then said: "The words which you told me are good and great words; they please me very much, but, for the time being, I cannot make use of them. I will, therefore, lay them carefully at my side and will try not to forget them. If I get so that I can safely use them in the future, I will bring them forth and apply them. I can do nothing without having to give an account of it. If the others learned that I had become a Christian or believer, they would forsake me entirely. I cannot quite give up the hope of getting well again, in which event I would rather remain as I am now and not expose myself to any contempt." With sorrowful hearts we had to leave him thus, a sad proof of how base the poor soul of man acts against its Saviour and Redeemer, even under the most hopeless and wretched circumstances, and rather holds fast to a straw than to the promises of God for eternal life.

After we had again reached the Sandusky, we began in earnest the building of a winter house, for which we ourselves felled the trees of light, round wood found in the forest. We had them dragged to the appointed place, whereupon we asked some heathen Indians to help us put the logs together, which they gladly did for something to eat, and finally, at the end of November, we could move into the house. Some time previous to that, however, Bro. Hagen was taken with a malignant fever, from the effects of which, after he had suffered two separate attacks, during which he was unconscious for thirty-six hours each time, he was left in an entirely paralyzed condition in the whole lower part of his body, so that for

three months he was unable to stand on his legs. This paralysis resulted from a wound, on the lower part of his body, which first had to be healed. This made our lot all the heavier during the winter, but the dear Lord did not allow us to die in our misery, but sent us help from a source whence we did not expect it, namely, through the old Indian helper, Bro. Stephen, who came over Lake Erie in a canoe from Fairfield to visit his relatives, and on account of the cold weather had been hindered on his return, so that he stayed with us during the winter and helped us faithfully. Throughout the winter we had sufficient to do with ourselves and found little opportunity for intercourse with the heathen, save when they visited us, which frequently happened, and gave us a chance to talk with them about their salvation, though this was not done very easily, unless food was provided for the hungry body of the visitor either before or afterwards.

By spring Bro. Hagen had recovered to such an extent that he could move about with the help of a cane. We therefore debated how we might fulfill our calling and proclaim the Word of God to the neighboring heathen. We decided to use our summer hut for Sunday services. To these meetings we gave invitations, but only a few Indians came, for their minds were filled with the thought of hunting, and furthermore a report had spread among them that war had broken out between the United States and England. This plunged them into great unrest. After they had held a daily council for a number of weeks in their long house, and had deliberated whether they should plant corn and await the scene of battle here, or leave and side with the English, they finally decided upon the latter course, whereupon the whole Monsy settlement broke up, during the month of May. In canoes prepared for the occasion, they crossed Lake Erie and went to Malden, where they joined the English. With the exception of the Wyandottes, who had their settlement three miles farther up stream, where a store and a school-house had been built for them on the reservation land which they had transferred to the United States, we were now quite forsaken.

Earnest preparations were now made for war. A small fort with soldiers was established here, on the reservation, at the United States' store, and we were advised to go there for safety. To this we gladly consented, because we were quite alone. We remained until fall at the fort on the reservation. From there, I made a visit, during the summer, to the Upper Sandusky, forty miles away, where was the original seat of the Wyandotte Indians, and while with them preached to them the Word of God in their Council House, in the Delaware language, which many of them understood, so that they could translate what was said into Wyandotte. I also visited the Seneca villages which lay half way between the Lower and Upper Sandusky and acquainted them with my purpose. Here I was lodged in their Council House and provided with a kettleful of boiled venison and corn, for which a wooden spoon, after the Indian custom, was placed in front of me. They brought me a number of deerskins for my bed for the night. Next morning I was visited by two

Chiefs, of whom the one could talk some English. With very solemn faces, they sought to make it clear to me that my efforts to preach to them the Word of God could not be accepted, first, because they had decided to hold to the manners and customs of their forefathers and therefore had no desire to have anything to do with the teaching of the white people; secondly, they had no interpreter who would be able to translate the English or Delaware into their language.

Meanwhile, the unrest caused by the war became greater, but we believed ourselves safe where we were because Detroit was provided with a strong garrison under Governor Hull. This continued until the middle of October, when all of a sudden the most terrible report reached us, that the latter, after a feeble defence, had surrendered Detroit to England, and that, in consequence of this, the English soldiers might be expected in Sandusky the next day (the day after we had heard the report). This created the greatest consternation among the inhabitants of the fort, as well as among the Indians, and everybody, we included, made preparations to flee with the greatest possible haste. The Wyandottes in the Lower Sandusky fled to the Upper Sandusky, as did also the Senecas. They drove their cattle before them and everybody had to look out for himself. With the assistance of a man who had pack-horses, we had the good fortune of bringing away our best belongings, though we suffered the loss of a great many useful things which could not be packed. In company with three white families and their children, who had a wagon between them, we began our journey to the Upper Sandusky. Bro. Hagen rode on our horse. Thus far we had not seen anything of the enemy, but it was not long after, that they appeared in the Lower Sandusky, where the fort was attacked but not taken. A skirmishing-party of British Indians had ventured into the region and had murdered a number of white families near Mansfield.

In the course of a week we reached Muskingum or Goshen, having been detained on the way for a number of days, by fever. We were grateful and glad that the Lord's protection had been so graciously over us and had brought us into the midst of our dear brethren. Wherever we went on our journey, we met frontier settlers in the greatest alarm making preparations for flight. We saw their wagons, loaded with household effects, standing in front of the houses, ready to drive off at a moment's notice, should the signal be given. At Goshen there was also considerable unrest, but this was of a different character. This was due to the great suspicion which many of the white people in the neighborhood entertained against the Indian brethren. It was believed that they secretly sympathized with their relatives who had joined the English. This brought about unavoidable hatred against them and all eyes watched their every movement, so that, for a while, a guard, consisting of trustworthy persons, was kept in the village in order to allay suspicion and to get rid of the slander.

Bro. and Sr. Mortimer had received a call to New York and, accompanied by the single Bro. Hagen, they left for Bethlehem, November 12. I was therefore left in sole charge of the mission, confident that the Lord

would help me, and so passed the winter in peace in the midst of the little Indian congregation, until spring. On the third of April, toward evening, two men, namely, Philip Ignatius and a strange Indian from the English side, came here secretly with the intention, as the former afterwards declared, of bringing away his mother and sister to the English side. All the Indians were staying at their sugar camps, at the time, and I was all alone in the village. The prowlers therefore kept themselves concealed during the night, in the sugar-huts of their relatives, and were not discovered. But on their way here they had been seen at Mansfield, about forty miles from this place, and the white people followed them as far as New Philadelphia and there made it known. Thereupon an officer, with two parties on both sides of the river, hastened to the Goshen tract, in order to hunt the spies, as they called them, and to take them prisoners. My house was searched from top to bottom and all corners thereof. They strongly suspected that I knew of their presence and, in collusion with them, had concealed them with the Indian brethren. But since they were nowhere to be found, they hastened to the sugar-camps of the Indian brethren. I went with them, because I knew nothing of what had transpired and still hoped that it would prove to have been a false alarm on the part of the New Philadelphians, when to my horror, I learned that it was all too true. The Indians in question, when they heard that they were pursued, fled to a small island in the Muskingum River and hid themselves in the woods. When I arrived with the officer and his men, the island was surrounded by white people, and many of them held their guns in readiness to shoot in case the fugitives should show themselves and refuse immediately to give themselves up as prisoners. This led me to call to the fugitives to come out of the woods and surrender themselves voluntarily, and I begged the officers and his men to hold back so that there should be no bloodshed. A number jumped into the water where it was most shallow, while others were taken across in canoes, which some of our Indian brethren had dragged to the place.

At the demand of the officer, I accompanied him to the island that I might persuade the Indians to surrender themselves voluntarily and allow themselves to be bound. One of the men proposed that I should be arrested, too, because I was no better than the Indians who had concealed the arrival of these spies. But nobody listened to the hostile fellow, and they were satisfied to take a Goshen Indian named Isaac George, who had denied that strange Indians had come from the Sandusky. Him they bound and took, together with the two others, to the prison at New Philadelphia. This occurrence brought the Indian congregation the greatest trouble and sorrow. The mother and sister of Philip Ignatius and his daughter cried aloud for several days and nights and would not be comforted, because they expected nothing else than that their relative, as well as his companion, would be condemned to death, since both were regarded as spies and the former was strongly suspected of having had part in the murder of a number of families near Mansfield, the previous fall. Because of the many cruelties perpetrated by the British Indian warriors on

the American soldiers on the Miami River, the enmity of the white people in the neighborhood of Mansfield and New Philadelphia continually increased against the Indian brethren in Goshen. They were believed to be in danger because of these bitter feelings which many cherished against them, therefore good friends and well-wishers advised them to break up their settlement and to remove to another neighborhood, where they would be under the protection of the Government. Their answer, however, was: "God can protect us here, too, if it is His will; if not, we prefer to die on our own rather than on strange land."

After the prisoners had been kept in chains in the prison at New Philadelphia for four or five weeks, I informed Governor Meigs of it, whereupon he promised to stop off at New Philadelphia on his return from the army on the Miami River. Because it was suspected that he was inclined, on that occasion, to give the prisoners their freedom, a number of armed men from Mansfield and Wooster made their appearance at New Philadelphia and demanded violently that the prisoners should be turned over to them, and even made preparations to break into the prison. But the New Philadelphians did not want this disgrace to attach itself to them, so they made counter-preparations and prevented them from carrying out their cruel intentions.

When the angry men saw that they could not visit their wrath upon the prisoners, it occurred to them that they might take vengeance on the Indians of Goshen and threatened to march there with their weapons and storm the place. Neighbors who belonged to the Sharon congregation and had just come from New Philadelphia, told us of this at once. They offered to receive the Indian brethren into their houses and barns and to protect them against attack, in answer to which the latter immediately left Goshen. On the advice of several Sharon brethren who came to me late in the evening, I allowed myself to be persuaded by them to go with them and stay with them over night, since they were of the opinion that I would not escape without injury. The Lord, however, graciously protected us against the evil, in that the enemies were not permitted to carry out their evil designs. They changed their minds and returned home without seeking revenge.

After a six weeks' imprisonment of the Indians, Governor Meigs arrived at last at New Philadelphia and ordered that the prisoners should be shown lenience and that they should have their hearing at Chillicothe instead of at New Philadelphia. In accordance with this order, they were to be taken first to Zanesville. After some months, however, they received their freedom and Isaac George came back to us, while the other two entered the service of the American army.

Already in the spring of 1813, it was decided that I should have a helpmeet in the service of the little congregation at Goshen, but, because of the unrest at the time, it was impossible to make arrangements for leaving my post, so the matter had to be postponed until fall, when a party from Lititz was gotten together, under the leadership of Bro. Lanius, with the intention of coming west. Among the number was the one whom the

Lord had chosen to be my helpmeet, namely, the single sister Rosina Heckedorn, from the Lititz choir-house. Hard as it was for her to accept the call under these circumstances, she found no rest until she had followed it, in child-like manner, and consecrated herself unconditionally to His service, and made the experience that, in this way, one feels happiest, come what may. This party reached New Philadelphia, September 6, and arrived at Goshen on the 7th. Their arrival occasioned great joy, not only among the Indian brethren at Goshen but among the neighboring Sharon brethren, among whom were Bro. and Sr. Blickensderfer, Sr. and the family of A. Ricksecker, former residents of Lititz. These, together with the other white brethren from Sharon and Gnadenhuetten, increased, by their presence, the solemnity of the wedding, which took place on the 8th, in the presence of the Indian brethren and sisters, the minister at Gnadenhuetten, Bro. George Miller, performing the ceremony. At the conclusion of the service, the Holy Communion was celebrated, the Sharon brethren and sisters also participating with fervor. All of this made a deep impression upon our little Indian congregation. The distance from Goshen to Sharon was about two miles and that from the latter place to Gnadenhuetten, about six miles, where the Sharon brethren went to church, therefore it often became my pleasant duty, especially when the weather was unfavorable, to serve them with the Word and Sacrament, which brought about a loving fellowship between them and the Indian congregation, and served as a blessing to both.

At this time the fortunes of war turned to the borders of Upper Canada and the American troops drew near to the British on the Thames River, so that the terror of the white inhabitants in our community was over, and our little Indian congregation once more enjoyed rest and peace, and we with it. At the same time, they were now cut off entirely from their countrymen, who had left their former homes and for the most part had gone over to the British side. There was therefore no prospect that our congregation or place, which consisted of from six to seven families, would have any growth from without, accordingly, we had to be satisfied with what was here and serve the little Indian congregation with school, Word and Sacrament, as long as it would please the members to remain in this isolated place. On the other hand, influences were very hurtful here, on account of the ever-increasing temptation to drink whisky, because they could hardly leave their village without coming in contact with it. They realized more and more themselves that it was impossible for them tc remain here very much longer, but it was hard for them to decide upon leaving their homes and move over on the English side, since the Kilbucks and White Eyes families were always Americans and their families stood and served on that side during the Revolutionary War.

Our lot during our seven years' sojourn at this place was very much lightened by the near and brotherly interest and support in every need and case of sickness, on the part of Bro. and Sr. Blickensderfer, Sr., and the many other brethren at Sharon. We could not thank the Saviour sufficiently for His gracious assistance under so many trying circumstances,

and often felt that we were not worthy of the kindnesses which they showed us for the sake of the cause of the Saviour. Here there were born to us three daughters, of which we had to give up the oldest, when she was nine weeks old, to the Church above, at which time the Saviour comforted us richly, so that I was enabled myself to deliver the funeral address, circumstances being such that nobody else could be secured to do it.

When Bro. J. Schnall pasesd away unexpectedly, September, 1819, at New Fairfield, we received the call in October to take his place. The journey thither had to be postponed, however, until the following spring, because of the illness of our youngest daughter, who was seven months old, and also on account of the lateness of the season to cross Lake Erie. Bro. Chr. Blickensderfer, Sr., had intended to accompany us to New Fairfield, but to our sorrow, our old greatly-beloved benefactor passed away before we left. Toward the end of May, 1820, we took leave of our dear little Indian congregation at Goshen, as well as of the dear neighboring white brethren and sisters at Sharon. Some of the former and a few of the latter, accompanied us on our way to Cleveland as far as our first night's lodging, one of their wagons bringing us to that place and another our baggage, since it is the nearest and best city to trade in, although ninety miles away. Since both of our children suffered from the whooping-cough, it was very hard for us to find lodging on the way. One night we would have been on the street, if a God-fearing woman had not taken pity on us and received us and our children and quartered us in her own room. Toward Cleveland we found the road, for twenty miles, almost unbroken and bad, so that the wagon went from one chuck-hole into the other. In addition to this, the many corduroy bridges helped to make it almost unendurable to remain in the wagon. It would have been nearly as easy to travel on foot.

We had to remain in Cleveland for almost a week on account of storms and contrary winds, until we came across a little schooner going to Detroit, which we boarded. We reached Detroit in thirty-six hours, after enjoying fairly favorable weather. Here we hired two men with an open boat, who brought us up the Detroit River into Lake St. Clair, where we were struck by a strong wind and heavy thunderstorm and we were unable to land. As the waves dashed into the boat, we were in great danger of sinking, for we could not know how soon a wave might fill our boat if the storm grew worse. We prayed to the Lord to deliver us out of this danger and how happy we were when our prayer was answered and we could finally enter the mouth of the Thames River, before it was quite dark. Here we found lodging in the small hut of a Frenchman, and we were able to dry our clothing and bedding.

Next morning we went four miles farther up stream and reached Mr. Isaac Dolson, at whose hands we received a friendly reception. Here we unloaded our things and discharged our boatmen. With these good people we remained two days until we had made arrangements to proceed. The Indian, Jeremiah Kilbuck, who had accompanied us from Goshen, had

proceeded immediately from here to New Fairfield, about forty miles away, in order to announce our coming. We left our heaviest things here and drove with a horse and wagon over a level road, leading along the river for fifteen miles, and came to John Dolson, Esq., with whom we felt at home immediately, because of an earlier acquaintance derived through his intercourse with the missionaries and inhabitants of New Fairfield. From the latter place a horse and wagon were sent, with which, accompanied by a large part of the Indian congregation and the Brethren Schmidt and Haman, as well as the sick Indian Helper, Bro. Jacob, who had come to meet us, we arrived safely at New Fairfield on June 13. We were glad and thankful for the gracious help and protection of our dear Lord, which we had experienced on our journey.

The single Bro. Renat. Schmidt and the widowed Sr. Schnall will soon begin their journey to Bethlehem, on the wagon which brought out the single Bro. Haman. The mission field was now given over to us. Here, too, we soon experienced the strong influence of the ubiquitous whisky-evil, which proved a great detriment to the congregation, especially to the men, so that it was impossible to think of carrying on the mission work without much patience and forbearance. The evil results showed themselves especially saddening at the time of the annual receipt of the imperial presents in Matoon or Amherstburgh, to which place the congregation had to go every year to get the gifts. Wicked people lay in wait for the Indians, either before they left the place or on their way home, in order to take from them their presents in exchange for whisky, and in spite of the heavy penalty set on such action, they succeeded all too well, because no one bothered himself with a crime of this sort. Therefore not a few returned with depressed and heavy hearts, on account of which the congregation not infrequently suffered. Everywhere one could see fallen faces, while others cried and complained. Others were shy and would not let themselves be seen in the meetings for a long time. There were also many who were unfortunately hardened sinners or such as had not as yet made any experience of a change of heart. We had to struggle against all sorts of evils, as for example, drunkenness, adultery, fornication, superstition and other works of darkness, which could only be driven out by the grace of God. There was therefore a feeling of mortification and sinfulness on the part of such persons who were still under the influence of the Spirit of God. From time to time, they came to their teachers and frankly talked to them of their heart's condition and occasionally, at least, received new hope and encouragement, so that they did not remain discouraged and mired in their sins so as to lose all hope.

The Spirit of God let Himself be strongly felt in such hearts and made the precious atonement of Jesus for sin extraordinarily important and enjoyable to such souls, since there was no other way open to them to find entrance into Jesus' kingdom of grace. The growth in holiness and in the following of Jesus had to be awaited with a great deal of patience in most cases. It was comforting to me to know that the betterment of the moral condition of the congregation did not depend on stringent outward regula-

tions, good as these are in their way and much as they find favor in men's eyes, but on the heart's acquaintance with its depraved and lost condition, and the soul's turning to the Saviour, with a full surrender to His care and trust thereon until the end. The slow progress which was made in a true life of faith through the work of the Spirit of God in the heart, because of the many faults and short-comings, tried my patience very much, indeed, in my efforts to further it, but also afforded me the opportunity to learn to know, not only the sinful misery of the Indian congregation but my own depravity. I strongly felt that in God's eyes, I could boast of no superiority in the presence of the greatest sinner and this taught me to exercise patience, a gift which the Lord had given me for my own life and from which a blessing flowed into my heart, which I might not have enjoyed otherwise in such rich measure. The fact that I could at this time talk with them in their own language and make all addresses in the meetings without an interpreter, stood me in good stead, and made my work among them easier amid so much intercourse with them in regard to their inner and outer affairs.

By the abandonment of Goshen on the Muskingum, the congregation at New Fairfield received a considerable increase, in the year 1821, through the Indian families of Kilbuck and White Eyes, together with others who came here from there. The sale of the Indian land on the Muskingum resulted in an annuity of $400 for the Indian brethren, which amount was annually distributed among all the inhabitants of New Fairfield in the form of merchants' wares and articles of clothing sent to them from Detroit, or brought by them from that place. They also received other assistance for themselves and their children. It was a heavy task each year to distribute these articles among them to the satisfaction of all.

In the year 1823, a great and threatening danger arose for the Indian congregation at New Fairfield because of its location. Even before this time it was encroached upon by the white inhabitants. Now a new survey of their tract showed a great disadvantage to our settlement in that the northern border-line cut off a part of the planting-grounds of the Indian brethren, which would have exposed their settlement, in the future, to the all too close proximity of white people. The Lord helped us out of this trouble, however, and inclined to us the heart of the Governor of that time, P. Maitland, of Toronto, to whom we had turned with a written petition, and in the event, half of our tract was measured off on the south side of the river Thames, and the other half on the north side. This brought our settlement into the middle and the white settlers around us three miles away. This was a great favor and for the good of the mission, without which it could not have existed in the long run. It encouraged the Indian brethren to extend their farm land on both sides of the river, and to spread out more and more themselves, especially so because the population of the village increased a little each year.

After seventeen years' absence from the white congregations, it afforded me and my wife special pleasure, in the year 1825, to have opportunity to make a visit to Bethlehem in order to put our oldest daughter, who was in

her tenth year, in the Girls' School of that place, and to spend the Winter there. On this occasion we visited relatives at Nazareth, Schoeneck, Lititz and Lebanon, and it made us feel very humble to enjoy all the loving and friendly receptions and entertainment on the part of friends. Strengthened in body and soul, after Whitsunday, 1826, we began our homeward journey by way of New York, Albany and Buffalo, and after a fourteen days' journey, at the middle of June, safe and well-preserved, we arrived at New Fairfield to the joy of our white and brown brethren. Bro. and Sr. Haman were sick at the time, so we were soon in the harness again. The wish of the Indian Sr. Abigail was fulfilled. She had been suffering from consumption and we had expected her end long before. She constantly begged the Lord that He might permit her to live until after our return and we actually had the joy of seeing her in full consciousness, and of blessing her for her home-going, whereupon she peacefully passed away the following night.

The Indian congregation at New Fairfield had needed a new church for a long time, the old one having become too small and tumbledown. Therefore, during my stay at Bethlehem, I induced the directors of the Missionary Society to grant the necessary means for a new edifice. On September 17, 1828, in the presence of the Rev. Mr. Morley, rector of the Episcopal Church in Chatham, the new church was dedicated, which greatly encouraged the Indian congregation in their services.

Our youngest daughter having reached her eleventh year, and our post being manned by Bro. and Sr. Chr. Miksch and the widowed Bro. Adam Haman, we left for Bethlehem in order to put her also into the Boarding School. The Lord gave my wife and me the necessary grace and strength, in accordance with our calling, to begin our return journey without our children, with perfect willingness. We left Bethlehem in October, and went by way of New York, Albany and Queenstown over land to Brandfort, where we stayed a number of days on the Grand River, forty miles up-stream from the road, among the Delaware and Monsy Indians, and conducted services for them. In this way, we became better acquainted with them, which had the result, that many of them visited us later at New Fairfield and came to us. From there our way led us back again through the various Mohawk villages on the Grand River to Brandfort, from which place we went by stage to our home, one hundred and thirty miles away.

On this journey we enjoyed the gracious protection of our dear Lord. The stage-driver had become drunk and lost control of the horses, and though it was after dark, he drove rapidly, in spite of the fact that the wagon-pole had already been broken through reckless driving. When my wife and I saw our danger, we got off the wagon when a halt was made in order to get the hat of the driver, which had fallen off. We were advised to get on the wagon again, since it was impossible for us to make the journey on foot. But when we would not be persuaded, the driver drove off at full speed with the remaining passengers, part of whom were likewise merry. Since we had two miles to the next station, we comforted

ourselves with the thought that, although dark, we would reach it in time. After we had walked about half a mile, we saw a light ahead of us and thought that we were near a house by the road-side. But when we drew nearer we found to our alarm, that our travelling companions had been greatly shaken up and tossed about by fast driving over the stump of a tree, all having been thrown from the open wagon, one breaking his shoulder-blade and another being unconscious and having to be carried to the nearest house. Through the terrible jolt, the four horses succeeded in breaking away from the wagon and ran off. The wagon lay there broken to pieces, and had to be taken farther piece-meal. We thanked the dear Saviour, in the secret depths of our hearts, for He had graciously protected us from the accident by putting it into our minds to escape in time. The following day we arrived safely at our destination, after an absence of four months, and had the pleasure of finding our dear Bro. and Sr. Miksch and Bro. Haman, as also the Indian brethren, well and happy. Thus far Bro. and Sr. Miksch did not have a comfortable house, so it was decided, with the assistance of the Indian Brethren, to build them, during the following year, a house of prepared lumber, which work was done for the most part by us.

In the year 1832 the widowed Bro. Adam Haman left us with his six-year-old daughter, after having been with us in the service here for twelve years. His departure gave us sorrow, especially to my wife. It was as if she was giving up one of her own children, because she had taken the place of a mother to the little one for two years and a half.

In the fall of the year 1833 Bro. and Sr. Vogler came to us. With their help in spiritual and temporal matters, I found more time to meet the request made several years previously to translate Huebener's Bible History of the Old and New Testament into the Delaware language, which was published later by the American Tract Society in New York, and distributed as a reading-book among the Indians of this Nation. The years 1836-1837 were hard and discouraging ones to me and my co-laborers, since a part of the Indian congregation left for the West with the idea of settling on the Missouri River. To this end they had banded together and entered into negotiations with His Excellency, Governor Bondhead, requesting him to transform half of the Indian tracts lying on the north side of the Thames River into an annuity of $600, with indemnity for the improvements on it. Those of the inhabitants who remained behind, protested, because they would thereby lose all their planting-grounds on the side mentioned, and the settlement of the white people would be brought to their doors. Those who moved away, however, would not rest until they had attained their end, and left, in July, 1837, acompanied by Bro. Vogler, in sixteen canoes. Some other Indian families from Monsy Town joined them. Since many quarrels were wont to arise between the two factions, which naturally created disturbances, those who separated themselves not having acted in as brotherly a manner as might have been desired, there was a great deal of unpleasantness, especially for me, to pass through. But our dear Lord graciously helped us also in this respect, so that eventu-

ally all difficulties were smoothed over and removed, and we were helped out of all perplexity. A written petition was sent to Governor Bondhead and approved by him, according to which the inhabitants of New Fairfield, or the part that remained behind, anew secured the planting-ground on the north side of the Thames River, which made the large road on the north side of the River Thames instead of the river, the northern boundary of the Indian tracts, for which a guarantee was received later.

The population of our village was now greatly reduced and the attendance at the meeting-house was also considerably smaller. At the same time, the change brought about more quiet and reverence in the services and appeared to make a blessed impression upon many, since encouragement to better things grew stronger and the temptations to worse things became less, because there was a greater unity among them than before. This, too, was due to the fact that outer circumstances, agriculture for example, improved exceedingly, because so many fields had been left behind for cultivation. This enabled many to extend their activities and to spread themselves out more, without much effort. We also enjoyed more peace and quiet in the village and had considerably less intemperance to fight, since the best part of the congregation had remained. There was also some increase in population, through heathen families from the Grand River, who were baptized and joined the congregation.

Bro. and Sr. Miksch and Sr. Vogler with her two children, in accordance with their call to Westfield, left here in the spring of 1838, so that for the time being all the work rested upon me and my wife. In fall, however, Bro. and Sr. Bachman came to assist us, but had to leave again in the spring of 1842 on account of the critical condition of Sr. Bachman's health, which increased our missionary labors once more. Especially so, since during the following summer a new, roomy school-house was built. By fall this was finished, and, my remaining assistant having gone to Bethlehem, the school with almost forty children was left on my hands, which labor in addition to the meetings and other church-work, so weakened my chest, that in the winter of 1843, I had to stay in the house for several months, and my recovery often seemed doubtful. Under these circumstances, being already quite advanced in years, I considered it best to ask for a release from service, which was granted me, too, at once. It gave us not a little sorrow to separate ourselves entirely from the fellowship of the dear Indian congregation, after having served it for twenty-three years and having passed through so many experiences with it, and far rather would we have closed the years of our life among them, if other conditions had not made it necessary to seek our little place of retirement in the Church.

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